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SATAVAHANA SPECIAL



Editor

N.R.V. PRASAD, M.A.,

DIRECTOR



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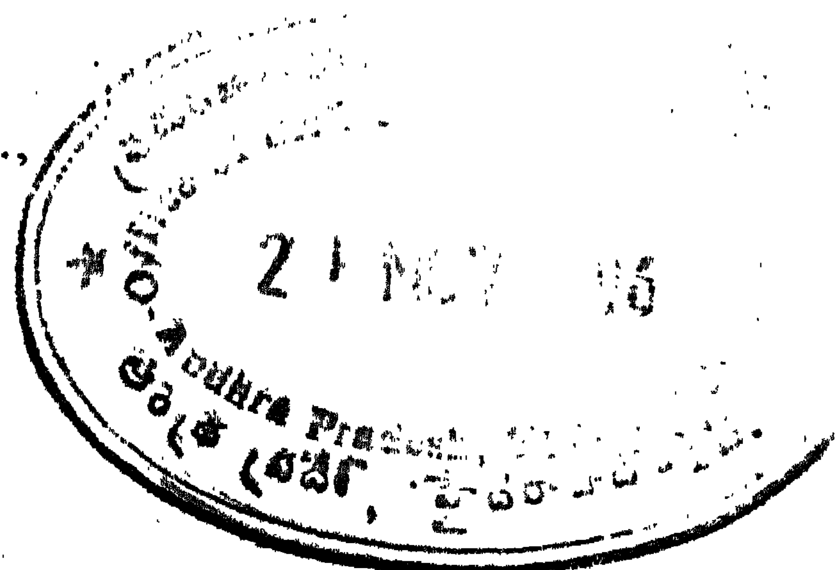


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PREFACE

The history of the Satavahanas, mainly their chronolgy and genealogy, has been engaging the attention of scholars, for quite sometime. Scholars have taken divergent stands basing their arguments mainly on Puranic, epigraphic and numismatic data. In this, one school of thought believed in their Western Indian origin, ruling over Deccan from the last quarter of 3rd C.B.C. to 3rd C.A.D. comprising at least 30 members in the line, whereas the other school belived in a shorter chronology for them and held the opinion that the information supplied by the Puranas is not entirely supported by epigraphical and numismatic evidences. Added to this, the discovery of a large number of early historic habitation sites in Deccan situated mainly in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, yielding a large number of coins, bringing to light the existence of more members not known hitherto in the family who exercised authority in different regions, is causing more confusion to the already existing problem. In order to reexamine the issue based on the archaeological and numismatic data recently encountered at several potential sites, more particularly in Andhra Pradesh, the Department of Archaeology and Museums thought it proper to organize a Seminar on Satavahanas by associating eminent scholars engaged in Satavahana studies on a common platform and try to solve some of the puzzling problems. Accordingly, with the kind permission of the Government of Andhra Pradesh, a Seminar on Satavahanas was organised in March, 1981, which was attended by several senior and eminent historians, archaeologists, epigraphists and other scholars, like Dr.C. Sivarama Murthy, Sri M.N.Deshpande, Sri I.K.Sarma, Dr.P.V.P.Sastry, Dr.K.V.Ramesh etc., who presented their valuable papers and held deliberations. The Department thought it appropriate to publish all those papers presented in the seminar as a special volume on the Satavahanas. Accordingly, the present volume of Journal of Archaeology of this Department is devoted exclusively to the above purpose in which only 14 papers could be accommodated in issue No. 1 leaving the remaining papers to the subsequent issue. There is considerable delay in its publication which is mainly due to the inability expressed by the Government Printing Presses to take up printing for a long time. However, I am glad that the Department could undertake the printing of these papers in the Journal of Archaeology Vol.III, No.2 making it exclusively a SATAVAHANA SPECIAL, which comprises a total of 16 papers, contributed by eminent scholars. There are interesting and thought provoking papers like Sri Thakur Raja Ram Singh's Pre-Satavahanas -- a fresh Study,

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the Chronology of Satavahanas by Dr.C.Somasundara Rao, Some early rock-cut chaitya caves in Western India by Sri M.N.Deshpande, the problem of Sensualism in Satavahana art by Dr.D.N.Varma and a Survey of the Satavahana Coinage by Dr.P.V.P.Sastry etc. There are also few other papers dealing with various other aspects like art, architecture and sculpture based on recent discoveries. This, I firmly believe, will satisfy the long felt need for an exclusive volume on the Satavahanas, incorporating recent archaeological discoveries. There are many scholar historians who are mainly responsible for accomplishing the above task. The credit of holding the Seminar goes to Sri P.Sitapati, I.A.S. and Dr.V.V.Krishna Sastry and a band of enthusiastic researchers in the Department namely Dr.N.S. Ramachandra Murty, Assistant Director (Publications), Dr.B.Subrahmanyam, G. Krishnam Raju, and K. Lakshmana Murthy, Assistant Directors, E. Siva Nagireddy and Smt. B.Indumathi Devi and many others who have worked hard to make the above Seminar a success. I thank them all individually.

I also thank M/s. Farah Printers who have undertaken the printing and completed it in a record time.

(N.R.V. Prasad)
DIRECTOR.

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Introduction

The historians of India, whether of the past or present, are left with only obscure source material to work with and this poverty of source material is always reflected in their historical research. This is more true when one writes on the ancient history of the Indian people. The history of Āndhras and the Sātavāhana Kula is not an exception.

What we now need is the logical interpretation of the data available in literature, myths and legends, folk traditions, and the archaeological discoveries, supplemented by anthropological findings. It is observed that, in the past the available historical sources and the archaeological evidences were mostly studied in isolation, which gave scope for divergent opinions[1]. A fresh study on pre - Sātavāhana Āndhras and their successors, the Sātavāhanas is attempted in this background.

The Āndhras

The Āndhras, presently are inhabiting three distinct regions in Andhra Pradesh namely, coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema, and Telingana. Their language is Telugu. However, there exists a tribe called *Andhs,* who can be located in some pockets right from Betul (M.P.) in the north to Warangal (A.P.) in the South[2]. K.P. Jayaswal compared Āndhēri people to a warring tribe like Gilzai in the Afganistan[3]. In fact, there is a place called Andakhoy, to the south of river Oxus, on the road from Kabul to Herat. There is another place by name Āndhapana, near Dere-Ismailkhan, referred to by

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1. Sudhakar Chattopadhayaya, *Some early Dynasties of South India*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 7.13, 17-24; H. C. Rayachaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta , 1972, pp. 76-84, 275-280, 356-366; Gulam Yazdani, *Early History of the Deccan* P.T.S. Iyyangar In *Indian Antiquary*, 1913, Vol 42, pp 276-281 D.R. Bhandarkar in *Indian Antiquary* 1,18 Vol. 47. pp. 276-281; V.V. Mirasi, *Studies in Indology*, Nagpur, 1962, Vol. II, pp. 148-159: V.S. Suktankar in *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 1918 -19, pp 21 - 42.
2. Census of India, A.P. part I 9, maps, 122 - 123 and pp. 179 - 181.
3. K.P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Bangalore, 1968, p. 125; Survey of India, India and Adjacent Countries, 1: 8,000,000, 1979.

Ptolemy[4]. Curtius referred to Sambarcae or Sabarcae in the same region. Sambaras or Sabaras were also known to *Ṛigvēda*. The combination of Āndhrapana and Ańdakhoy is interesting. Pānas as non-Āryan trading people are known to *Ṛigvēda*[5]. The Khoy may be Kōyas or *Koitud* related to the present day Gonds. The Āndhs in the vicinity of Sabaras in the north - west region of Greater India is also interesting. Presently, however, we are not concerned with Āndēri tribes of Afganistan or other allied people of north-west of Greater India. Some of their brethren might have migrated to central India in some distant past. The remnants of tribal Ańdhs in India speaks a lot. It is possible that the present day Āndhras and Sabaras remained outside the cultural influence of the Āryans and Buddhists and continued to lead tribal life to this day, while their brethren, the present day Āndhras at one point of time, imbibed the Āryan cultural traits, and later embraced Buddhism and consequently became a civilised people and lived in the urbanised and agricultural village society, shedding their affinity with the original tribe.

The Vindhyan People

Pertaining to Āndhras, we have a reference in *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* in connection with the sons of Viśwāmitra. I quote the passage from the translation of A.B. Keith : " Then he (Viśwāmitra) cursed (his sons) saying, "Your offspring shall inherit the ends (i.e. Āryan border)". These people are the Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas, who live in large numbers beyond the border (of Āryan land). Most of the *dasyus* are the descendants of Viśwāmitra[6]. A few facts emerge from this obscure passage. That at one time when some of the Āryans moved to South, the then Āryan border being south of Madhyadēśa around Vindhyas[7], they came in to contact with Āndhras and allied tribes, who were prolific and made their abode in the south, and that the sons of Viśwāmitra went not only into contact, but also mingled with them; who were *dasyus* meaning non-Āryans. The off-spring of the miscegenation was a mixed caste and both the spouses were generally called *Vrātyas*[8]. The *Vratyas* always lived

4. Ptolemy and Curtius in R. C. Majumdar's *Classical Accounts of India*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 372 and p. 151.
5. A.A. Macdonnel and A.B. Keith, Vēdic Index, Delhi, 1967, ii. 355 and i. 471 -473.
6. A.B.VII-18, in Ṛigvēda Brāhmaṇas, HOS, Reprint, Dalhi. 1971.
7. Laws of Manu, in *S.B.E.* Vol. XXV ii 21, p.33.
8. Debiprasadchattopadhyaya, *Lōkāyata*, Delhi, 1959, pp. 166-71.

beyond the borders of the then Āryan land i.e., North India. However, they were subsequently accepted into the Āryan *fold* as Aryanised people. We, however, do not know where exactly the Āndhras and allied tribes were then living. P.T.S. Iyyangar, basing on *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, was the first to theorize that the Āndhras were the Vindhyan people[9]. From their dense population, it could be surmised that they were inhabiting both Narmada and Tāpi river valleys, at that time. Afterwards, they might have migrated to the Gōdāvarī valley. It must be noted here that, we have Andhēri *stūpas* in Vidiṣa, north of the Vindhyas near Bhilsa, most probably named after the Āndhras, then inhabiting around Vindhyas. The other *stūpas* like Bhojpur and Satdhara are also found in the vicinity of Āndhēri *stūpas*. After all, the early Buddhists relied more upon the commoners than the princely class. It is likely that the Buddhists named these *stūpas* after the tribes and the people. It is also possible that the Āndhras and the Bhōjas, who were living in Vidiṣa, accepted Buddhism very soon, either in the life time of the Master or just after his demise. This must have happened in the sixth-fifth centuries B.C. itself. Marshall dated some of the inscriptions found at Āndhēri *stūpas* to third-second centuries B.C.[10]. But, the Āndhras might have been living there since earlier times. Adrija river in Vidiṣa, is mentioned in *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*[11] which may be a corruption for Āndhraja, probably a tributary of Betwa-Vētravati, near Andhēri *stūpas*. The Adrija may be the river Āndōmati of Arrian[12] in Madyandinoi, a tribal belt in this region. He was referring to this river, while describing Ganges and its southern tributaries. All this shows that the Āndhra people were then living around the Vindhyas.

Āndhras, The Non-Āryan People

The date of composition of *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* is variously fixed between 1,000-500 B.C. But this is definitely a pre-Buddhist work and the folk traditions recorded in it must go beyond the date of its composition. The Āndhras, a non-Āryan and a wild hunting people, were mentioned in the Laws of Manu, *Mahābhārata* and Buddhist literature, which were much later to the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*. It means that

9. Indian Antiquary, 1913, pp. 276-281.
10. *Sanchi*, Vol. I., pp. 289-293 (Reprint)
11. Pargiter, Tr. *Markandeyapurana*, 184-86.
12. R.C. Majumdar (ed) in Arrian , p. 217.

much before the time of committing themselves to writing, Āndhras were still a tribe, living on "the slaughter of the wild animal"[13]. The Buddhist work *Śamanta pasādika* mentions Āndhas, together, with Damiḷas as "milakha" meaning non-Āryans[14] which must be noted. The reference to Āndhras occurs in the *Laws of Manu,* in a chapter dealing with mixed castes. These mixed castes, as stated above, were the offspring of the Āryan and non-Āryan, through either matrimonial or extra matrimonial. But this helps us to assume that, most of the then tribes, including Āndhras, were slowly being Aryanised. But at the same time, the Āryans themselves were influenced by such cultural intercourse.

Āndhras moved to the South

We come across some instances recorded in *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas,* about the Āndhras and other tribes, living farther south. Though these are late compositions or compilations, and much interpolated from time to time, they did record the traditions that prevailed much earlier. The Sabaras and Puḷiṁdas are mentioned in *Matsya Purāṇa* as the people living beyond the Āryan border in *Dakshiṇāpatha,* together with Vidarbhas and Daṁḍakas[15]. Likewise *Mahābhārata* places the Āndhras, Puḷiṁdas and Savaras in *Dakshiṇāpatha*[16]. It can be made out from these texts that, the then *Dakshiṇāpatha* extended to Tāpi and Gōdāvarī valley and that all these tribes were living in and around Vidarbha.

Puḷiṁdarājya or Puḷiṁdanagara, mentioned in *Mahābhārata*[17] goes to show that, like Puḷiṁdas, the other non-Āryan tribes, by that time,. were organizing themselves into political units, and trying to annex some region or the other permanently and to have their kingdoms established.

Basing on *Mahābhārata* and *Matsya Purāṇa,* it can be surmised that, the Āndhra, the Savara, the Puḷiṁda, and Mutiba people were living in close association,

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13. *Laws of Manu,* 10,36,48.
14. S.P.I 255; in Malalasekara's *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names,* London, 1960, p. 106.
15. *Matsya Purāṇa,* 114 - 46-48.
16. *M.Bh.* 12207,42.
17. *M.Bh.* 11,5-10.

spread over between the upper and middle river valleys of Narmada, and Tāpi-Payōshṇi. A Vidarbha king Bhīma is mentioned in *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*[18]. The *Mahābhārata* places Vidarbha, South of Payōshṇi, a tributary of river Tāpi[19]. It is probable that by this time, the Vidarbha borders extended to Wardha valley, north of Pengaṅga. The present day Vidarbha almost suits fully the extent of ancient Vidarbha. In such a case, Āndhras and some of their allied tribes must have been living also in different parts of Vidarbha and nearby kingdoms of Asmaka and Muḷaka in the mid-Gōdāvarī valley.

Vidarbhas and Āndhras

It can be safely assumed that the Āndhras learnt their first lessons of civilisation under the lead of the fifty sons of Viśwāmitra and likewise learnt their political lessons in Vidarbha, Daṇḍaka, Asmaka, and Muḷaka, From this time onwards, Āndhras were destined to establish their own rule, at some future date. There is no doubt that they had atleast their own chiefs to govern themselves from the beginning. According to *Mahābhārata,* Āndhras were many. There, they are referred to as *Āndhrāścha bahavaḥ*. They are referred to severally in the epic in different tribal combinations and also placed in different geographical locations[20]. We are mostly concerned here with those Āndhras, who settled in Tāpi, Gōdāvarī valleys. A king of Daṇḍaka or Daṇḍaki is referred to in *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*[21] as ruling from Kuṁbavati, which can be placed south of Avanti and west of Vidarbha. This king of Daṇḍaka may be the same who is called Bhōja in *Arthaśāstra*[22]. We have references to show that the Vidarbhas were also Bhōjas[23]. The Daṇḍaka kingdom, then, most probably covered the parts of the present day Jalgaon and Khandesh regions. The Āndhra and allied tribes as we have already seen, were in some way or other connected with Daṇḍakas. This means that, they slowly occupied the Gōdāvarī valley right from Nasik to Karminagar region, south of Daṇḍaka and Vidarbha. This might have occurred some time between 800-600 B.C. As indicated above, this does not mean that all the Āndhras migrated. Many of them might have been still living in the Viṅdhyas.

18. *AB.* IV, 34.
19. *M. Bh.* III, 61,22-23; 120-31
20. I.K. Sarma, *Coinage of Sātavāhana Empire*, Delhi, 1980, p.31; W.Elliot, *Coins of South India*, 1886.
21 E.B. Cowell, Ed, *The Jātaka*, vol.V, 522. Varanasi, Reprint, p. 11 but see pp 1.
22. Shamasastri, Tr, 1960, p.11.

The Sabaras

The Sabaras of today are living in different parts of India. In Andhra Pradesh, they are presently living in the upper reaches of Sabari river, a tributary of Gōdāvarī and in Araku valley. Still there are some Sabaras who live in Rajasthan today. Mirashi, long back, studied a coin of *Raṁño Sebaka*[24] which may belong to Sabaraka or Sabara dynasty, ruling somewhere in the erstwhile State of Hyderabad or Telingana. I have seen, a few other coins of Sebaka, of un-known provenance along with 97 coins of pre-Sātavāhana and early Sātavāhana kings, found from Kotilingala in the cabinet of P. Suryanarayana Reddy of Hyderabaad. Like Puliṅdas, the Sabaras, it seems, had their own kingdom in some distant past. Mirashi assigned the above mentioned Sebaka coin to pre-Sātavāhana times[25].

Asmakas and Āndhras

Vidarbhas and Daṅḍakas were not the only powers in *Dakshiṇāpatha*. We have references to Asmaka and Alaka (Muḷaka) kingdoms, too, lying in the valley of Godavari, south of Vidarbha and Daṅḍaka. We can safely assume that the Āndhras, Sabaras and probably Mutibas also, entered and settled in different parts of Asmaka and Muḷaka territories. The Muḷaka and Asmaka territories in Gōdāvarī valley, are full of early historic sites. Few recently discovered and excavated sites in this region are of crucial importance[26]. Asmaka, like Avaṅti is referred to as Mahājanapada in *Aṅgutta Nikāya*[27]. Asmaka and Muḷaka were contiguous kingdoms, though their exact boundaries are not known. There are reasons to believe that the boundaries of Asmaka or Assaka were changing time and again, either due to wars or political turmoils. At one time Asmaka seems to have occupied some parts of Vidarbha, as indicated by the fact that Asmakas fought a war against Kaliṅga, on the very borders of their kingdoms[28]. It is only possible that Asmaka earlier expanded its boundary with the Kaliṅga at the

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23. In Raychaudhuri, pp. 80; In Shamasastri, p. 11; *A.B.* VIII-14
24. In Mirashi, pp. 49; D. Raja Reddy & P.S.Reddy, *Coins of Sātavāhana Era*, Hyderabad, 1983, pp. 78-80.
25. Op. *Cit.*
26. V.V. Krishnasastry, *The Proto and Early Histrocial Cultures of A.P.*, Hyderabad, 1983, pp 123 - 145.
27. *A,N.*, PTS., 213.
28. In Cowell, The *Jātaka* Vol, 30,J. 302 (*Cuḷḷakaliṅga Jātaka*).

cost of Vidarbha. Likewise, the reference of Asmaka-Avaṅti combination in *Sōma Naṅda Jātaka*[29] may indicate that its borders extended to Avaṅti at the cost of Muḷaka and Daṅḍaka.

Potali or Podana was the capital of Asmaka[30] whereas Patiṭhāna was the capital of Aḷaka or Muḷaka[31]. The disciples of Bāvari started their journey from the banks of the river Gōdāvarī in the Assaka territory to meet the Buddha and reached Patiṭhāna in Aḷaka and then proceeded further[32]. Raychaudhuri thought that, the then Podana may be the present day Bodhan in Nizamabad district[33]. Podan or Bodhan, is about 5kms, from the right bank of river Mañjīra and 10 kms. from the south bank of river Gōdāvarī and is one of the early historic sites,[34] which could not be excavated, as it is mostly lying beneath the present day Bodhan. Bodhan is just away from the flood plains of the rivers Mañjīra and Gōdāvarī. There is a possibility of the present Bodhan being Podana. Rayachaudhuri pointed out that the monks and donors of Padana or Podana, as found mentioned in the early Brāhmi inscriptions noticed by Lüder, may belong to the same Podana, the capital of Assaka[35]. Patiṭhāna, most probably is Paithan, which is referred to as Paethana or Baitana in Periplus and Ptolemy[36]. There is however, a place named Bhaitana in Nasik district. The antiquity of the latter place is however, not known. Like the Vidarbhas and Daṅḍakas, the Asmakas and Muḷakas were also Āryans, as they are said to be the scions of the Ikshvākus in the *Mahābhārata* and *Vāyupurāṇa*[37].

The facts mentioned above, show that the politics of Assaka did not always go smoothly. It had its good and bad days. Its wars with others might have made the Asmaka kingdom a weakling. It is probable that in such a situation they had to tax the people to their displeasure and recruit fresh forces. The Āndhras and the allied tribes, occupying some parts of the kingdom of Asmaka, Muḷaka and Vidarbha, might have joined the service of these kingdoms in different positions. It is equally possible that

29. In Cowell, Vol. V.532
30. In Cowell, Vol II.J. 207 (Assaka Jātaka); Vol. 3.J.301.
31. Sutta-Nipāta, in Vol. X. *S.B.E.*, Tr. Faus Bol, PP.184.
32. Op. cit.
33. In Raychaudhuri, p. 80.128.
34. In V.V.K Sastry, p. 128.
35. In Raychaudhuri, p. 80 note 2.
36. In R.C. Majumdar, (ed), pp. 304, 376.
37. *M.Bh.* i. 177, 47; *V.p* 88. 177-178.

the kings of these territories were calling on the chiefs of Āndhras and allied people, in times of war or other contingencies, apart from contacting local tribes, like Gonds and Kōyas in the region. There is a reference to *Kandaloe* people in Ptolemy's Geography[38] who might be Gonds living in the regions of Asmaka and Vidarbha.

The Proto-Historic Background

Archaeology tells us that prior to the entry of the Āryans, the Āndhras and other tribes in South India, these regions were occupied by Neolithic and Megalithic farming communities. Excavations conducted by Krishna Sastry at Polakonda in Warangal district provide us with few radio-carbon dates for the late Neolithic and Megalithic phases in Karimnagar region[39]. The late Neolithic Phase is dated to 1,400 B.C., and late megalithic to 150 B.C[40]. The early historical period at Dhulikatta is dated to 320 B.C., a radio-carbon date obtained from wood charcoal[41]. The Dhulikatta date confirms that while urbanisation in this region started well before 320 B.C., megalithic burial practices continued at least up to 150 B.C. The pre-Sātavāhana Āndhra kings, spoken of by Buddhaghōsha to whom we shall come next, and referred to by Pliny, must have existed either in fourth century B.C. or earlier. The literary evidence is perfectly attested to by the spade of the archaeologist.

The Āndhra Kings of Asmaka-Muḷaka

In *Pārāmatta Jōtika*, a commentary written by Buddhaghōsha on *Suttanipāta,* it is said that Bāvari and Bōdhisatta Sarabhaṅga Jyōtipāla lived in Kaviṭavana, an island, *Antaradipa* of river Gōdāvarī in Assaka territory[42], contiguous to Muḷaka. According to Buddhaghōsha, in the time of Bāvari, a contemporary of Buddha, the kings of Assaka and Muḷaka were Āndhras. They are said to be the Andharaṭṭas of Asmaka and Muḷaka kingdoms. This means that the Āndhras, by some means, either war or internal revolution, captured these kingdoms. The most interesting part of it is that one can

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38. In R.C. Majumdar, ed., pp. 374.
39. In V.V.K. Shastry, pp. 27-28, 37-38, 78-79, 235-236
40. *Indian Archaeology - A review*, Delhi, 1978-79, p. 103.
41. *Ibid.*
42. P.J. 581; In Malalasekara, pp. 815-816 (Godavari, pp. 109(Andhaka). 222 (Assaka-4) and pp.513 (Kapitavana).

argue that these Āndhra kings, by necessary implication, were the contemporaries of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, the imperial monarchs of Magadha in north India.

Political Conditions

This was the time when Magadha, under Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, was in conflict with Kōsala and Avanti and at war with other kingdoms or republics in North India. It also seems probable that subsequently, Udayana, attacked Avanti. The Indian Sub-continent, it can be seen, was in turmoil both in the north and south of the Vindhyas. In the north, the tribal chiefs, the republics and other kingdoms were ruthlessly being brought under the control of the Magadhan empire and in the south, the newly emerging Āndhra chiefs were destined to emerge as empire builders, probably on the same lines. Rayachaudhuri observes on the situation, "The rise of Magadha synchronised with, and may have been a contributary cause of an exodus of people from the Madhya-deśa to the outlying parts of India, notably the west and the south[43]. He reminds us of the earlier displacement of the Yadavas. We know that Bhōjas, like the Yādavas of that time, migrated to south and settled in Vidarbha and Daṇḍaka. This was the time when tribal congregations, their chieftaincies or confederations were being broken up by the Magadhan bureaucratic rulers and their ruthless ministers, as a matter of policy[44]. This was a period of great social upheaval in which universal religions, like Buddhism were taking shape. Similarly, the concept of the empire or kingship under one umbrella was being developed. This concept of Empire building was put into practice, not only by the family of Bimbisāra, but also by Nandas and Mauryas. Naturally, this political situation affected the people living in and around the precincts of the empire and also in South India, to which people migrated from these places. This and other factors in economic and natural calamities like famines[45], might have forced the remaining Vindhyan tribes of Āndhras and allied people to further migrate towards south, most probably at the earliest atttempts of empire building, either before Bimbisāra or in the early days of his reign. As a matter of fact, these migrations were in series, time after time.

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43. In Raychaudhuri, p. 168.
44. *Digha Nikāya* XVI (Mahāparinibbānasutta); *Majjima Nikāya* iii-7
45. Divya Vadana, 131; Rājavāti Katha in I.A., 1892, p. 157; B.C. Law: *Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, Delhi 1980, p. 172; also refer to *Famines in Mahābharata and Vinayapiṭaka.*

The Āndhras and Buddhist Saṅgha

It also seems possible, that towards the end of the reign of Ajātasatru, the Āndhras in South India exploited these political troubles in the north and the weakness of the Assaka - Muḷaka kingdoms, besides their pressures for carving out their own kingdoms in the territories. There is some evidence to believe that Āndhras in their effort got the active support of the Buddhists from the beginning. A Thēravāda Āndhra Buddhist *Saṅgha* later split into four, was still powerful in Buddhaghōsha's time[46]. The earliest Thēravāda Āndhra *Saṅgha* might have been in existence in the Gōdāvarī valley in Asmaka and other kingdoms and must have been in contact with the hermitage of Kaviṭavana in the Asmaka territory. The Āndhra chiefs or local rulers might have been aided by Āndhra *Saṅgha* and also other Buddhist teachers living in Kaviṭavana, in favour of their political ambitions. We know that, many and different people during this period, joined Buddhist *Saṅgha* not exclusively for religious reasons. The politically discontented people also joined the *Saṅgha* during the time of Buddha himself. The fact that the Buddha and *Saṅgha* allowed political discussions is not unknown. The Buddha himself was consulted on political affairs[47]. Hence, the probability of the Āndhras contacting the *Saṅgha* for their political ends is not without base. In fact, the Āndhras became the vanguards of Buddhism from the beginning and exploited its support in favour of their political ambitions. Both religion and politics seemed to have gone hand in hand during this time.

In these circumstances, the part played by Bōdhisatta Sārabhaṅga Jōtipāla and his disciples and the location of Kaviṭavana in Assaka territory becomes important. The legend of Jōtipāla is dealt with in two Jātakas namely, *Iṅdriya Jātaka* and *Sārabhaṅga Jātaka*[48]. According to these *Jātakas*, Jōtipāla also called *Sārabhaṅga* entered the forest and became an ascetic in the Kaviṭavana. Kaviṭa or Kapītha is wood apple or Feronia elephantam and *Vana* is forest. He was a teacher of multitudes of people and had seven chief disciples. By and by, his hermitage became crowded and there was no room for the multitudes of ascetics to dwell and hence Jōtipāla asked his six disciples

46. Extract from *Kathāvarthu* (Ceylon) in B.C. Law *Points of Controversy*, p.104. Malalasekara, p.110.
47. Mahāparinibbāṇa in *Digha Nikāya* ii, 721.
48. In Cowell, Vol 3 J. 423 and vol. 5 J. 522.

one after the other to take these multitudes of ascetics to different regions like Suraṭṭa, the country of Avanti, the Hilly regions of Avanti, Ghansela (Ghaṇṭasāla ?) in Dakhshiṇa, Kumbavati the city of Daṇḍaki and cave shelters of central regions. The seventh disciple however, remained with Jōtipāla Sārabhaṅga at Kaviṭavana. Once it happened that the king of Daṇḍaki and his people insulted the disciple of Jōtipāla there and the Bōdhisatta Jōtipāla destroyed that country. This fact is also mentioned in *Arthaśāstra*[49]. After the destruction of Daṇḍaka, the king of Kaliṅga, Bhīmaraṭṭa (probably of Vidarbha) and Aṭṭaka (probably a corruption for Andhaka or Assaka) approached the Bōdhisatta and hearkened to his preachings very intently and became peaceful. The truth behind these legends seems to be that the Buddhist *saṅghas* in the Gōdāvarī valley became so powerful at that time, that they were capable of punishing the kings at their will or directing the kings about their political affairs, apart from spreading Buddhism, in all corners from the centre of Kaviṭavana.

Location of Kaviṭavana

According to Buddhaghōsha, the Kaviṭavana was an island *(Antaradīpa)* about 3 to 5 leagues in extent, in the middle of the forest and lying in the fork of river Gōdāvarī in Assaka teritory[50]. Such a big island or islands having forests cannot be seen in the river Gōdāvarī, flowing between Nāsik and its confluence with Mañjīra river near Bōdhan, as the width of the river upto this length is narrow and not wider than 0.25 km. Such an island or islands, covered with plains and forests are seen in the Gōdāvarī north of Armur and south of Nirmal, near about the present Pochampad project lake, but these do not stand to the description of Buddhaghōsha. The next group of such big islands are found south of Khanapur, taluk head-quarters in Adilabad district and north of Metpalli taluk in Karimnagar district. Here, one single island measures more than 10 kms., in length with an average width of 1.5 kms., having a temple and a village by name Bandakurti, situated over it, along with agricultural lands and a forest patch. If other forest islands within the fork of the river adjoining this island are taken together, they measure a total length of 18 kms. with similar width[51]. The surroundings of these islands in the river are full of hilly forests, having numerous medieval temples on or

49. Shamasastry, Tr., *Arthaśāstra*, Bangalore, 1960, p.11.
50. See note 42 above.
51. Survey of India Map 56, 1-12, 1928 and 56, J-9,1929.

near about the banks, besides a temple over a hill, now named as Sōmannagutta. This place is a sacred spot even today and on a particular day of every year, people congregate there. Obviously this spot suits to the description of Kavitavana, as narrated by Buddhaghōsha. This place is not too far from Adlur, Bodhan (80 kms.), and Kotilingala (50 kms.), the early historic fortified sites. But the antiquity of these islands and their surroundings is yet to be established. However, Sri J. Ramanaiah[52] informed me that some Sātavāhana coins were found at Yelula not very far from this place in Metpalli taluk. Certain place names like Sātāram, Sātakapalli, Kurnipeta, and Kurnikallu in the vicinity of this place, are also interesting. If this identification of Kavitavana with these islands is accepted, it can be said that a part of Asmaka territory was lying in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts. The places around this spot might have been in the occupation of pre-Sātavāhana Āndhra chiefs or local rulers in Asmaka territory, covering the border lands of the present day Marathwada and Telangana.

The Date of Āndhra Rājya

In case we rely on Buddhaghōsha's statement, then the Āndharattas referred to by him as kings of Asmaka and Mulaka, would be contemporary with Buddha and Ajātasatru. Buddhaghōsha was writing his commentaries on Buddhist texts about the end of the first quarter of fifth century A.D. Most probably in the matter of Āndhra kings, he might have relied on the earlier traditions current in his time or based himself on some recorded traditions, not preserved to us. Traditions die hard, but there are chances of confusing the facts coming through the traditions. Alternatively it is possible that Buddhaghōsha might have believed that these Āndhra kings, who captured Asmaka and Mulaka after the time of Bāvari, belonged to the life time of Bāvari. However, undoubtedly the Andhra kings were ruling Asmaka and Mulaka, definitely in pre-Sātavāhana times, atleast around the times of the late Nandas or the first Maurya king Chandragupta, as is corroborated by Pliny's description of Āndhra Power[53]. It seems that the Āndharattas, of Asmaka-Mulaka territories referred to by Buddhaghōsha, were not different from the Āndrae kings mentioned by Pliny. It must be noted here that Buddhaghōsha was speaking of Āndhras and not the Sātavāhanas and that a king

52. Research Scholar, Central University, Hyderabad.
53. In R.C. Majumdar, p. 342.

Sātavāhana was unknown to Buddhists, which fact was also known to Buddhaghōsha[54]. Bhaṭṭasāmin, in his commentary on *Arthaśāstra* it is true, refers to Asmaka-Muḷaka as Maharastra[55]. But he wrote his commentary very late, when infact, Asmaka and Muḷaka had come to be known as Maharastra, long time after the Sātavāhanas lost their control over these regions. We know that in the early times, neither Asmaka nor Muḷaka were known as Maharastra atleast from 5th century B.C. to 5th century A.D.

The Learned Āndhras

The *Jātakas* and other Buddhist works definitely preserved some early and old traditions, based on folk memories about Āndhras. These traditions were current, well before the Buddhist works were compiled and committed to writing at some later date. Both the *Suttanipāta* and the *Jātakas* are old works which found place in *Sutta-piṭaka,* the earliest Buddhist canon. The Andhra people became popular and were respected by other people in India as attested by a tradition recorded in *Bhīmasēna Jātaka*[56]. According to this *Jātaka* a *Bōdhisatta* went to Āndhra country in search of practical experience, after he finished his studies at Takshaśila. This clearly indicates that the Āndhras were already a respected people and were running their own institutions, teaching the students, probably all branches of Buddhist knowledge and practices. It is also clear that the Āndhras developed a well knit respectable society. The fact that Āndhras were impressed by Buddhism and became its vanguard in *Dakshiṇāpatha* is further proved by the fact that they were among the other tribes who went and paid their homage to Jātukaṇṇikathēra[57]. We have already referred to Āndhra Buddhist Saṅgha[58]. This states that, the Andhras might have reached before they won the Asmaka-Muḷaka territories, or just after the event.

54. *Sumaṅgaḷa Vilāsini* i. 303; Malalasekara: p. 1091.
55. In Shamasastry, p. 127, note 3.
56. In Cowell, Vol. 1. J. 80.
57. *Apādāna* (P.T.S.) ii. 359.
58. B.C. Law, *Points of Controversy*, p 104.

Āndhrāpura : Value of Place Names

The *Serivānaja Jātaka*[59] mentions an Āndhrāpura, probably a capital city of Āndhra kingdom, which, a Bōdhisatta of Serivāha country reached, after crossing a river by name Telavāha. In view of the discussions offered on the above, it is clear that this Āndhrapura lay in Asmaka territory of the Gōdāvarī valley and in all probability, its territory comprised parts of the present day north Telangana and adjoining Maratwada districts, as indicated above. It is interesting to note that, some 70 years back Komarraju Venkata Lakshmana Rao, in his lecture, stated that, the key of Āndhra history lay in the Andhra districts of Nizam's dominions[60]. In view of all this, D.R. Bhandarkar's[61] identification of Televāh with modern Tel becomes untenable. The valley of the small river Tel, a tributary of river Māhanadi, never provided us any vestiges of either pre-Sātavāhana Āndhras or their successors, the Sātavāhanas.

Within the Asmaka, Muḷaka and Vidarbha territories of Tāpi-Gōdāvarī valleys, I have traced dozens of village names, based on the words Śēri, Telavāh or Telagāh, Savara, Andha or Āndhra, Sata and Karṇi or Kaṇṇi, from the Survey of India maps. In fact, names based on Āndhra can be traced right from Viṅdhyas in the north to Penna valley in the south. Such names can also be traced in Nasik region and north Karnataka. This may be due to the folk movements, through the ages. Some of these places might have been named after the people and many infact, go to the pre-Christian era, while some others may be as late as Sātavāhana times. Some of the names based on the word Āndhra may also be much later and might have been named after Andh tribes. The best test to rely on place names is to check the antiquity of such places and the early historical sites, these places yield. Names of some places change later, leaving no traces of their original names, but still they may yield early historic evidence. Likewise, other places having no traces of early historic antiquities may also take old names. Further, there may be places, with or without antiquities, whose names have been metamorphosed, so that their original names cannot be traced. The word *Telavāh* may stand for the present day word *Telagāh*. G.V. Sitapati, while writing introduction to his book,

59. In Cowell, Vol, I, J, 3.
60. Personal Communication - G. Krishna, A famous Journalist.
61. *I.A.* Vol 47, 1918, pp. 69-71.

the *History of Telugu Literature*, treated the words *Tenugu, Telagu* and *Teliva* as equivalents[62].

Atleast two examples from a set of place names here deserve mention. A village by name Aundha, to the north-west of Nanded and south of Hingoli, and another village by name Telagoan, on the river Kiadho, a tributary of Penganga, have been traced by me. Again there are two other willages by name Āndhapur, situated to the south-east of Nanded, and Telegaon not far from the north bank of river Godavari, situated to the south of Umri railway station. The question is, which one we should accept from Aundhas or Āndhapur as the capital city of Āndhras and equate it with Āndhāpura referred to in the *Serivānaja Jātaka* ? My answer, however, is negative, because I have presently no cogent or other evidence regarding the antiquity of the said places, to connect them to Āndhrāpura, except that the names are similar with Āndhāpura of the *Jātaka*.

The Āndhras of Farther South

It is a fit place here to think of other branches of the Āndhras, inhabiting territories south of Asmaka-Muḷaka, in the southern parts of present day Telangana, coastal Andhra or lower Gōdāvarī-Krishṇa valley extending to Pennar valley, Rayalaseema of lower Tungabhadra and Tungabhadra - Krishna valley, including north Karnataka. There is every possibility of some or other branch of Āndhras occupying these regions in early times. Basing on a Buddhist work[63], it can be said that Āndhras inhabited upto the borders of Damiḷa land, whose border on its north, however, is not clearly known to us. It is, however, possible that the Rāja Kubīraka, known to us from Bhattiprolu inscriptions[64] and Rāñō Sōmaka Anubada, recently known through Vaddamanu (near Amaravati) cavern rock inscription[65] in early Brāhmī characters, may be the Āndhra kings of that region, around second-first centuries B.C., later than the Āndharaṭṭas or Āndrae, referred to by Pliny and Buddhaghōsha respectively. Likewise, there is a chance of petty Āndhra kings ruling Rayalaseema and north Karnataka, now

62. Ṣahitya Academi, New Delhi, 1968, p. VIII.
63. *Samanta Pasādīka*, 255.
64. *Epigraphia Indica, Corpus Inseriptionum Ind...*, Vol. II, pp. 328-29.
65. Personal Communication - Ramakrishna, Bi... ...m, Hyderabad

not known to us. Āndhras, Rathikas and Bhōjas are mentioned in the Aśōkan inscriptions[66], but it seems probable that it may be a boastful statement of his officers, as there is no other record or evidence available to show that Aśōka captured or ruled over Asmaka, Mulaka or Vidarbha territories. His inscriptions are conspicuously absent in these regions. However, Aśōkan influence seems to have reached the lower Gōdāvari-Krishna valleys around Amaravati, possibly through east-coast via. Kalinga and north Karnataka and Kurnool, by west-coast via. Saurastra and Konkan. Hence, we find many Aśōkan inscriptions in this region. However, it is possible that the Asokan officers may be referring to Āndhras occupying lower Krishna valley around Amaravati or north Karnataka and Kurnool regions. In that case, the Rathikas and Bhōjas must be those, who were occupying, west coast and Konkan regions only.

The Powerful Āndhras

The Andharattas of Asmaka-Mulaka territories were the first and biggest political force in triangular South India, who were originally non-Āryans but Aryanised well before that they established their kingdom, the Āndhras and Kalingas were the powerful ruling families in South India, while the Nandas and Mauryans were ruling in Pataliputra, is a fact which needs no further elucidation. After the downfall of Asmaka-Mulaka kingdoms, the Kalinga rule, however, continued, while the Āndhras captured the territories of Asmaka and Mulaka. Vidarbha, however, seems to have coexisted with them but yielded to the descendants of Āndhras, soon after. The earlier war of Nandas against Kalinga[67] is referred to in the inscription of Khāravēla, a later king of Kalinga. The Āndhra power referred to by Megasthanese, as quoted by Pliny[68] is itself sufficient to prove the fact that the powerful Āndhras were the contemporaries of later Nandas and Chandragupta Maurya as stated above. The Āndhras might have consolidated their rule, taking advantage of the unsettled political conditions in north India. These were the days when the Nandas were fighting the Kshatriya rulers, most probably north of the Vindhyas, extending their rule to the then Kalinga and when Alexander was attacking north-west of the greater India. There is however, no cogent

66. *Rock Edicts* Nos. 5 & 13 in D.C. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Ashoka*, Delhi, 1957, pp. 43 & 54.
67. *Hathigumpha Inscriptionum* in *E.P. Ind.* and *Rec. A.S.I.*, Vol 20, pp. 71-79.
68. In R.C. Majumdar, pp. 341-342.

evidence available to show that Naṅdas extended their rule to Asmaka territory. The equation of Nanded with Nau Nanda Dhera[69] and reading in it, the Naṅda rule itself, is not a sound reason. My friend R.R. Sharma[70] suggested to me that while Naṅdas were exterminating the Kshatriyas in the north, the Āndharaṭṭas were doing the same in the Gōdāvarī valley. The extermination of Kshatriyas at the hands of Naṅdas, must be limited to North India, north of the Viṅdhyas and not beyond. Likewise Biṅdusāra's defeating many kings must be limited to west and east-coasts of North India from Saurastra to Bengal, as it was during the time of his father Chaṅdragupta Maurya[71].

The Āṅdhras and Pur Āṅdhras

Pliny first narrates the military power of Kaliṅga, then refers to some minor powers in India and proceeds to record the Āndhra power. I quote his words : "Next come the Āṅdrae, a still more powerful race, which possess numerous villages and thirty towns, defended by walls and towers and which supply its king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants[72]. Compared with Pāṭaliputra and Kaliṅga powers, that the Āndhras stood next only to Mauryas[73] is clear, but their power seems to have been drawn from the people of the villages and towns they ruled, which provided the king with the required army to defend their kingdom. This, in my opinion, indicates a confederation of petty and tribal rulers and other kingdoms controlled by Āndhra kings. The other important fact which emerges is that they had thirty strong fortified towns in their realm. We know very well that, as against the early Āryans, the non-Āryans in India were in the possession of fortified cities. Āndhras originally being non-Āryan people might have known this art of defence. The *pur* in *Ṛigvēda* stands for fortified town of non-Āryans[74]. It is interesting to note that the Āṅdhras or "Pur Āndhras; probably write wrongly placed in the list of north, in the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas* including *Matsya Purāṇa*, while infact, they are the Āndhras of thirty walled towns, mentioned by Pliny. The fact seems to be that the once powerful Āṅdharaṭṭas or

69. In Raychaudhuri. pp. 206-208.
70. A teacher and Hindi writer.
71. In Raychaudhuri, pp. 264-265.
72. In R.C. Majumdar, pp. 341-343.
73. V.A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd(ed), p.206.
74. In *Vēdic Index*, vol. I. pp. 538-540.

Āndrae of walled towns, were long forgotten by the time of writing these works, though a faint memory of 'Pur Āndhras' however, remained as a fact in their times, which, they mixed up with the lists of northern people. The argument of K.P. Jayaswal seems not to be correct in saying us that the Āndhras mentioned in Aśōkan inscriptions were the people of north[75]. As stated above, *Pur* is a fortified town. No such walled towns of Āndhras are found in north or north-west India, within the time range of 500-100 B.C. with which period we are mostly concerned here.

The Karimnagar Region

Keeping in view the discovery[76] of major towns and village sites of early historic times in Karimnagar region, V.V. Krishna Sastry remarks: "The Karimnagar region is marked by a number of early historical sites almost in every alternate village. It is really puzzling to find why they are mainly concentrated in the Karimnagar region. It is likely that, the political nucleus of the whole or a part of the Deccan, might have been situated in the region; secondly, the population during Sātavāhana period must have increased manifold; thirdly, it might be a commercially important region traversed by the ancient trade route; and lastly, agriculture being the main occupation of the people, they found the congenial area, marked by arable alluvial black soil plains[77]. I fully agree with him in this matter. In the region under consideration, we have atleast four such walled-towns in Karimnagar and Nizamabad districts of Andhra Pradesh, namely Dhulikatta or Dhulikōṭa and Kotilingala in Karimnagar district and Vadlur or Aḍlūr (Andhlur) and Bodhan in Nizamabad district, apart from numerous village sites. Many more sites have been further discovered in the same region.

The reason for the pre-Sātavāhana Āndhras of settling in the Gōdāvarī valley was, full of economic wealth, like the flora and fauna, water resources, minerals, semi-precious stones and flat lands, useful for habitation and cultivation, among the hilly chains or isolated hills, coupled with its forest produce, like timber and edible produce. There are many limestone quarries and other rocks, useful for building, purposes, available in this region. Moreover, iron ore is available in abundance in the region.

75. *Hindu Polity*, Bangalore, 1968, p.18.
76. T.R.R. Singh, in *A.P. Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. I, No.1, pp.8-10. In V.V.K. Sastry, pp. 123-130.
77. In V.V.K. Sastry, pp. 123.

Many iron working sites were noticed by this author in the company of V.V. Krishna Sastry, throughout this region. The one site of Bommareddypalli is an iron slag mound of considerable extent and height. Khurshid Mirza, the earlier writer who wrote on minerals of Hyderabad State, noted many sites, yielding different minerals like iron, copper and semiprecious stones from this region.[78] The ore from this region yields 40% to 60% iron. Iron and steel articles and swords manufactured in this region were being exported to western countries *via* Iran, well before Alexander's lightening attacks against north-west region of greater India[79]. Most probably the semi precious stones, timber, iron, cotton, sagarmatta (silk) and other produce from this region were carried as export articles to Barygaza *via* Rāgara, Paiṭhān and Kaḷyāṇ. There is a mention of such inland trade from the eastern Deccan covered by hills and wild animals in Periplus,[80] a late work but such trade was in existence is now proved not only by many references in literature but also known from the excavations conducted at Lothal and recently at Dwaraka by S.R. Rao. Even today this region is famous for metal working and production of cotton and silk. V.V.K. Sastry also referred to the many facilities this region provided for mining and metallurgy. According to him, the iron industry reached a high water-mark of development during the early historical times[81]. The fact seems to be that, iron smelting and its forging was known in the region from the Megalithic times. He describes a variety of iron articles found from almost all the strata i.e., pre-Sātavāhana and Sātavāhana levels at Peddabankur, Dhulikatta and also at Kotilingala[82]. Basing on the policy of new economy and technology, an entirely new society emerged in the area under consideration. Once, when such a society materialised, the people and the tribes could be easily dominated and the man-power exploited. These and others, must be the resources available for the emerging pre-Sātavāhana Āndhras which helped them in creating a bureaucratic form of Government which gave impetus to capture Asmaka - Muḷaka kingdoms, which infact, was an ambitious venture. It seems, these Āndhras, like their counterparts in North India, used both the methods i.e., war and

78. *A Brief* outline of the Geological History of Hyderabad (*Hyderabad Geo. Series* No.ii); 1937, pp. 34-39,48,56.
79. *Op. cit.* p. 36, Kurshid Mirza, A Preliminary Note on the Iron Ore Resources of the Hyderabad State, (*Hyderabad Geo. Series No. 4*) 1940, pp.1-13.
80. In R.C. Majumdar, pp.304-305.
81. In V.V.K. Sastry, pp. 151-152, 154-165 and plates 66 to 76; see also V.V.K Sastry in *Sātavāhana (Seminar) Souvenir*, Hyderabad, March, 1981, pp. 1-4.
82. *Op. cit.*

peace, for purposes of political expansion. This art of war and peace, they learnt at home from the Asmakas, who seem to have indulged much in war as already indicated in *Jōtipāla-Sarabhaṅga* of Kaviṭavana, which helped the growth of Āndhra power and the development of Buddhism in the South as already referred to.

Dhulikatta and Kotilingala

In the light of this, two out of four walled-towns, Dhūḷikaṭṭa and Kōṭiliṅgāla, the earliest sites so far known to us, gain importance. The recent excavations conducted within these fortfied sites provide us some important material and fresh numismatic data, which hepls us in the reconstruction of the history of pre-Sātavāhana Āndhras and their successors, the Sātavāhanas.

At the outset, it must be stated here that Kotilingala excavations revealed atleast four floor levels upto a depth of 2.15 mts., so far. According to the excavation report, phase-I corresponds, in general, to the floors 3 and 4, which represents the pre-Sātavāhana period, and phase-II corresponds to floors 1 and 2 which represents the Sātavāhana period. The 4th floor has shown only rubble and mud mortared walls of the buildings, without any trace of the use of bricks. From layer 3, it seems that terracotta tiles for roofing came into use. The brick, however, came into vogue from second layer onwards, representing Sātavāhana times. As regards pottery, red, black and red, and black wares along with tan ware were found in the 4th layer of the site representing pre-Sātavāhana kings[83]. From this, it can be remarked that this pottery, earlier thought to be of Sātavāhanas, is not limited to their times alone but was in use even prior to them. No russet coated ceramics, the alleged Āndhra ware found at Kondapur and in north Karnataka, is noticed in the excavations of Karimnagar district, which ware, infact, belongs to late Sātavāhana times. Even the few pieces of a single rouletted plate found at a depth of about a metre must be an intrusion.

Possibly, the sites of Dhūḷikaṭṭa and Kōṭiliṅgāla are the first to yield numismatic evidence for both the pre-Sātavāhana kings and their successors, the Sātavāhanas[84]. The surface collection of the coins of Koṭiliṅgāla is already studied by P.V. Parabrahma

83. *Annual Administration Report*, Dept. of Arch. A.P. 1983-84, p. 30-34.
84. *Numismatic Digest* Vol II, 1, pp.10-21 (Jun, 1978); No. Vol III, 2. pp. 17 (Dec. 1979); *A.P. Journal of Archaeology* Vol I, pp.133-139 (1979).

Sastry. Like-wise for the first time, we have here discovered the coins of Chimuka Sātavāhana, one of the early Sātavāhana kings [85]. However, no post Chimuka coins of this dynasty are found from this site.

Dhulikatta in the heart of Karimnagar district, where an early historic mound of 18 hectares in extent, was found, whereas, Kotilingala is more than 50 hectares in extent and is found situated on the confluence of the rivers Peddavāgu and Gōdāvarī. Part of Kotilingala site was later on occupied during the time of Kākatīyas. Still there exists a Kākatīyan Śiva temple and the village Kotilingala lies partly over the mound. A Hīnayāna *Mahāstūpa* is discovered very near to Dhūlikaṭṭa site. A few limestone slabs, carved with different mythical and human figures paying respect to Buddha *Pādas*, and a huge multihooded *Nāga* Muchalinda are found at the *stūpa* site. The label inscriptions seen on these slabs are mostly in early Brāhmi characters. Like-wise, an almost destroyed *stūpa* was seen on the left bank of Peddavāgu, south of Kōṭiḷiṅgāla, which was provided with many wedge-shaped sand stone slabs, which were used as base stones in the *stūpa*. The slab stones yielded many label inscriptions in archaic Brahmi characters, which could not be deciphered as yet. A huge sandstone slab, found on the top of Munula Guṭṭa, a hill south of Kōṭiliṅgāla site, is having an inscription in early Brāhmi characters with the symbols of *swastika* on the left and an early *triratna* on the right of the inscription. *Triratnas* of the same type are seen on the hoods of *Nāga* Muchalinda referred to above. This type of terracotta *triratnas* were also found in the excavations at Kōtiliṅgāla, at considerable depths. Some more Buddhist *stūpas* and *chaityas* are found at Pashgaon and Kāṁpalli in the vicinity of Kotilingala. The limestone *chaitya* base at Pashgaon was decorated with mother of pearl work including the symbols of *swastikas*, etc.

EARLY HISTORIC C14 DATES

During the excavations at Dhulikaṭṭa, the southern gate, built of bricks, was exposed and in the heart of the mound, a palace complex was exposed,[86] both belonging to Sātavāhana times. For the first time, a lead coin of pre-Sātavāhana king Rāṇō Samagōpa was found at considerable depth of 1.20 mts., from this site, the reverse of

85. Ist and 3rd references of 84 above.
86. In V.V.K. Sastry, p. 132-133 and 136-138.

which is blank, as in the same fashion as Rāño Gōbhada coins. A few coins of Sātavāhana and Mahātalavara were found here and at the nearby *Mahāstūpa*, at considerable depths[87]. As stated above, this is the site which yielded a radio carbon date of 2270 plus, or minus 100 (320 B.C.) for its early historical level. The other available radio carbon dates for this site are 70 and 50 B.C. But the site was occupied twice, earlier than 320 B.C., and not later than 50 B.C.[88] This site was abandoned during the times of late Sātavāhana kings. At present, we have no carbon 14 dates available for Kotiliṅgala, but, this site, like-wise, yielded numerous coins of some unknown pre-Sātavāhana kings like Rāño Gōbhada, Rāño Samagōpa, Siri Nārāṇa and Siri Kaṁvāyasri and Mahātalavara Vajasāmi Sebaka, apart from the coins of the early Satavahana kings like Siri Sātavāhana, Siri Sātakaṇi and Rāño Siri Chimuka Sātavāhana. A coin and a terracotta seal of Mahātalavara were earlier found by V.V.K. Sastry from the pre-Sātavāhana levels at Peddabankur and Polakonda respectively[89]. The coins of Rāño Sebaka of pre-Sātavāhana times are already referred to. A similar *triratna* is found on the reverse of Sebaka coins as seen on the coin of Samagōpa and Sātavāhana. Such a *triratna* is seen on the top of the *stūpa* carved on a slab found at Pauni in Vidarbha. The Bārhut and Sāñchi gate *triratnas* [90] and trees in railing and the *triratnas* seen on other coins of Karnataka are much modified and developed and are late in time[91]. When compared with the symbols found on the coins of pre-Sātavāhana kings found at Kotilingala, we can see clearly that the Kotilingala site is more ancient than Dhūlikaṭṭa.

Fresh Numismatic Data

So far, more than 800 copper coins are found both from the surface and the excavations at Kotilingala, which include about 350 coins found from the excavated strata. The coins of Samagōpa (68), Sātavāhana (34), and Sātakaṇi (37) are found in more numbers than the coins of others. The coins of Mahātalavara (13), Gōbhada (17), Nāraṇa (9) and Chimuka (25) are also found in good numbers. Except for the coins of

87. V.V.K. Sastry, The Salient Features of Sātavāhana Material Culture, paper read at *National Seminar, Mysore*, 1986, pp. 20-21
88. *I.A.R.*, 1978-79, pp. 103; In V.V.K Sastry, p 232-233.
89. V.V.K Sastry, *Ibid*, pp. 20-21.
90. D.D. Kosambi, *Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India*, London, 1965 Plates 80 to 83.
91. Wheeler, *Brahmagiri and Chandravali*, A., 4, 1947-48, pp. 291-93, Plates CXXVII-CXXVIII.

Kaṁvāyasiri (7), the coins of all other kings are found in the excavations[92]. The coins of Mahātalavara and Rāño Samagōpa were found in one trench at a depth of 1.68 kms. from Layer 4 of the site. The coins of Rāño Gōbhada are found at a depth of 1.15mts. (with legend) and 1.30 mts. (without legend) but a broken coin of this kings is found at a depth of 1.70 mts. The coins of Siri Sātavāhana and Siri Sātakaṇi are found at the depths of 1.38 mts, and 1.22 mts. respectively. There seems to be a gap in between the coins of Siri Sātakaṇi and Rāño Siri Chimuka Sātavāhana, as the coins of the latter are found in layer 2 in its upper levels at the depth of 0.35 m. At or about the same depth are also found the coins of a non-Sātavāhana king namely Siri Nāraṇa. It must be mentioned here that the trenches were first laid on the even ground of the same contour line in the central part of the Kotilingala mound. The stratigraphy discussed above is based on these trenches. The number of coins put in brackets include the finds both from surface and excavation and they are the coins which could be clearly read and identified so far. It may be interesting to note that a good number of different coins of Sātakaṇi (9) are found at a depth of 54 to 56 cms., in two different trenches. On the obverse of these coins, is found an elephant facing left, with raised trunk, over the body of which are seen *swastika* and an entirely new and unknown symbol. This symbol can be described as two orbs placed over a third orb, all joined together, from the joints of which, emerge a few curved lines resembling a crab or spider. At the top of these symbols is seen the legend "Risātakaṇi". There is a possibility of the existence of some more symbols below the elephant. The reverse of these coins, however, contain the known symbols like Ujjain and *swastika*[93].

Siri Sātavāhana probably imitated the *triratna* symbol either from Rāño Sebaka or Samagōpa coins. A compartive study of Siri Sātavāhana and Siri Sātakaṇi of Kotilingala and coins found earlier from different sites like Kondapur, Pauni, Nevasa, etc., also indicates that all may not belong to one and the same king. P.L. Gupta, also came to this conclusion, when he made the study of the different coins of Rāño Sātavāhana and Sātakaṇi found in the Nevasa excavations[94]. In size, weight, shape or

92. By Courtesy, Dept. of Arch. and Museums, A.P. Hyderabad.
93. V.V.K. Sastry Seminar paper, pp. 20-21 and my study of site excavation and coins by Courtesy of Dept. of Arch. and Museums, A.P. Hyderabad.
94. P.L. Gupta, in *Coinage of the Sātavāhana* and *Coins from Excavations*(ed) A.M. Sastry, Nagpur, 1972, pp.135-136.

fabric and also in symbols and legends, the coins are different, representing different kings of the same name, who ruled before and after Chimuka or Simuka and Kaṇha. The dissimilar coins cannot be always different issues of the same king, nor the different issues of different regions may not always represent the same king as was thought in the past. This type of argument has got its own limitations. Such an argument was developed due to our absolute reliance on *Purāṇas*, their king lists, and the chronology furnished by epigraphy and numismatic data. In view of the above discussion, we can conclude that not only palaeographically but also stratigraphically, the coins of Rāño Samagōpa, Mahātalavara and probably Rāño Gōbhada are earlier than the coins of Siri Sātavāhana and Siri Sātakaṇi. Infact, the coins at Kotilingala encountered upto a depth of 2.15 mts. though they generally are not well preserved and could not be read[95], however, by fabric, shape and size they can be identified as pre-Sātavāhana coins. The coins of Chimuka are comparatively very late even in the context of Kotilingala stratigraphy.

Nevasa and Koṭiliṅgāla

At this stage we have to reconsider the coin evidence of Nevasa in the light of Kōṭiliṅgāla excavations. In Kotilingala, we have clear evidence of pre-Sātavāhana kings, succeeded by Sātavāhana kings. In the case of Kotilingala, Siri Sātavāhana and Siri Sātakaṇi are undoubtedly pre-Chimuka kings, where as their name sakes are post Kanha of ivory seal and by necessary implication post Simuka. The Nevasa series of early Sātavāhana kings suits the succession of kings, known to us from Nānēghāṭ figure-label inscriptions. In view of this, the conclusions arrived at by I.K. Sarma[96] and others, need revision, in the light of fresh evidence offered by Kotilingala excavations. The Nevasa sequence of kings itself is meaningful and very clear. The sequence of Nevasa coins starts with Kaṇha (of ivory seal), Sātakaṇi and Sātavāhānas and continued upto Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The later Sātavāhanas only to end, before the Vishṇukundis came to power[97]. It can now be seen that Nevasa provides us with only the upper strata or post-Kaṇha series of kings, where as Kotilingala gives the lower starata or pre-Chimuka/Simuka series of kings. This is the only conclusion one can arrive at, in view of our present knowledge of early Sātavāhana kings.

95. *Annual Report*, Dept. of Archaeology, Hyderabad, 1983-84, p. 33
96. In I.K. Sarma, pp. 31-32, 35-37. 126-127.
97. A.M. Sastry (ed), pp. 104-107.

The Talavaras

The Talavaras seem to be the native megalithic folk, brought into the Āryan fold in pre-Sātavāhana times. Some time later, they might have accepted Buddhism. It also seems that the Talavaras were in close contact with Sabaras and joined their cadres. The earliest horse symbol on their coins and the *triratnas*, one over the other, and the suffix Sebaka at the end of their coin legends, indicate the fact that they had connections with megalithic folk, contacts with Buddhism and probably were in the service of Sebakas or Sabaras in the beginning. The coin of Talavara found along with the coin of Samagōpa at Kotilingala makes them contemporary to the pre-Sātavāhana kings of Kotilingala or having some relations with them. The pre-Sātavāhana Mahātalavaras originally may be local kings either before Samagōpa and Sebaka or their contemporaries. It is quite possible that, they were politically active, even from the times of the Asmakas in this region as their coins are found in and around Kotilingala, Dhulikatta, Peddabankur and Polakonda from the pre-Sātavāhana levels. Rāñō Sebaka, however, belonged to the family of Sabaras or Savaras and he might have been a king ruling in the continguous region, that of Samagōpa. All these families, have accepted Buddhism, is evident from the symbol *triratna* and tree in railing, found on their coins. The *triratna*, once thought to be *Nandipāda* must be a Buddhist symbol representing the Buddha, *Dharma* and *Sangha*. The tree in railing represents Buddha. Even the *Śrīvatsa* is also a Buddhist symbol[98]. However, these symbols devised for a particular meaning originally, stood for a different one later on. The Talavaras, however, continued to exist not only in the early period but also in the times of Sātavāhanas and post-Sātavāhanas. They also existed in the times of Ikshvakus of Nagarjunakonda. The Talaries of present day Telangana are associated with the death ritual. This may again indicate that they were originally megalithic people, who gave much importance to the death ritual. Their forefathers also might have been the first people in South India to use horse as vehicle and a draught animal to cultivate their fields with an iron ploughshare. It is also possible that in Sātavāhana times they might have played the same role in Telangana region in establishing the Sātavāhana kingdom or empire as those of Rathikas and Bhōjas in Vidarbha, Kandesh and Maratwada.

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98. See Barhut *Stūpa* railing Medallion of Jatāvana and Nāgarāja Erapatra panel also from Barhut, tree in railing in worship in Barhut panel, Top of Sanchi east and north gate for Siva also within *triratna*.

The Mutibas

As indicated above, the Āndhras and Savaras, probably along with Mutibas, settled in these regions. However, we have not much information about the Mutibas except that they are similar to Modubae referred to by Pliny[99]. The Mutibas were so assimilated with the other people in the region, that it is impossible to trace their identity. Possibly, they might be the cognate people of the Andhras. However, the remnants of the Mutibas may be seen in the present day Mutarāsi/Mutirāju, otherwise called Telagas, Tenagas or Telivas. They are also known as Mutirāju in farther south. The Telinga as a people are found mentioned in *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*[100]. They might be the people who are called Movipa or Muchipa in *Sāṅkhyāyana Srauta Sūtra,* who probably occupied the region between the lower Mañjira and Mūsi valley in the present day Telangana or connected with Musi river as suggested by Rayachaudhuri[101].

The Pre-Sātavāhana Āndhra Kings

Elsewhere, I have named the kings Samagōpa, Gōbhada, Nārana and Kaṁvāyaśri as the kings of "Āṅdhragōpa dynasty" for convenience sake[102]. The Āndhragōpa dynasty kings, like Samagōpa and Gōbadha must be the late descendants of the Aṅdharaṭṭas, the kings of Asmaka-Muḷaka territories and the same as Āṅdarae. The pre-Sātavāhana Āndhra kings seem to have captured the tribal chiefs and petty local kings, like the Talavaras, Sabaras and others, before they finally occupied the Asmaka and Muḷaka territories. The coins of these kings, more particularly of Samagōpa and Gōbhada, were found from the bottom levels of the site, whereas the Sātavāhana coins were met with in the upper levels, during the four excavation seasons at Kotilingala. It must, however, be noted that the coins of all the pre-Sātavāhana as well as the Sātavāhana kings were also found at all levels in the excavations and also from the surface. This is due to the circulation of their coins in later times.

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99. In R.C. Majumdar, p. 342.
100. Pargiter (tr), pp 366.
101. In Raychaudhuri, pp. 84; *S.S.S.*, XV. 26.6.
102. P.R.R. Singh, *Indian Express*, Hyderabad, Dated 19-12-1982; In *A.P. History Congress, Proceedings of 7th session*, Warangal, 1983, pp 21-22.

The prediction of Komarraju Venkata Laxmana Rao stated above and the hypothesis of M. Ramarao[103] that Telangana may have been the original home of Āndhra Sātavāhana seems to gain strength from the excavations conducted at Kotilingala and Dhulikatta, particularly in view of the numerous coins, these excavations yielded, belonging to both pre-Sātavāhana Āndhra kings and their successors, the Sātavāhanas. Hence, the earlier views held by Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya and the recent remarks of B.R. Subrahmanyam[104] that a few coins of Sātavāhana and Sātakaṇi at Kondapuram and that the coins found at Kotilingala, a place, on an ancient highway etc., may be the travel coins, do not suit in the case of Kotilingala, particularly in view of the results yielded by the site. Infact, it may be a second mint site after Peddabankur, as suggested by I.K. Sarma[105] or represents a separate mint according to P.V.P. Sastry[106] but the mint must be at Kotilingala or a place nearer to the findspot, as the coins are not found elsewhere, outside this region, so far.

Suṅga, Kāṇva and Āndhra Coins

P.V.P. Sastry[107] believes in the probability of the coins of Gōbhada, Samagōpa and Kaṁvāyasri as being the coins of the scions of the Suṅga kings or Kāṇva family, who, according to him, might have ruled not only Vidisa but the Deccan including Andhra and identified the coins of Gōbhada with Bhāgabhadra, the fifth Suṅga king, and the coins of Samagōpa with those of Samabhāga, the ninth member of the Suṅga family or seventh member Ghōsha. He also assigned Bhāgavata religion to Gōbhada and Samagōpa[107]. I.K. Sarma supports this view with some additions. He assigns the coins of Kaṁvāyasiri to Vāsudēva[108]. This sort of identification is not new to the history students. It has a long tradition to back such identifications basing on *Purāṇas*. The Āndhra-Sātavāhana research trend from the beginning seems to be that every scrap of information whether archaeological, epigraphical or numismatics, should be fixed within the frame work of *Purāṇas*. We all know that the *Purāṇas*, enlisting the kings

103. *Sātavāhana coins*, Hyderabad, 1961, pp. 22-23.
104. S. Chattopadyaya, *Some early Dynasties of South India*, pp. 18-19, Delhi, 1974; B.R.S. In *A.P. History Congress Proceedings of 7th session*, p.13.
105. In I.K.Sarma, p 37.
106. *A.P. Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 1, p. 135.
107. *Numismatic Digest*, II. I pp. 14 and 17; A.P.J.A. 1.1., pp.136-137
108. In J.K. Sarma, pp 35-37.

including the Sātavāhanas, mentioned them as *Āndhra Jātīyas* or *Āndhra bhṛityas* are neither complete nor correctly placed. S. Chattopadhyaya even suggested that these lists may even, include some of pre-Sātavāhana rulers[109]. It is common knowledge that these lists are defective and in many cases beyond comprehension. It is sufficient here to point out that the Bhadraka of Suṅga lists, the fifth king, is also named as Āndhraka and Ōdraka, and Samabhāga is named as Bhāgavata. These names are not even similar to those of Gōbhada or Samagōpa of Kotilingala coins.

The very name of Simuka or Chimuka is not found in any of the *Purāṇas*. There is no guarantee that the very first king of the Āndhra lists variously named as Siṅdhūka, Siśuka, Balin, Sipraka, Siśruka, Siṅsuka, Siruka, Kiṁsukrōdah, Chiṣmaka, and Sūdraka[110], is the Simuka of Nānēghāt inscription or Chimuka of Kotilingala coins. At best, we can rely only on the last eight listed kings, from Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi onwards of the *Purāṇas*. For other kings, we have to rely on either epigraphs or numismatic evidence and for some of the kings we have to rely on some other evidence independently known through other literature. Basing on the difference found in "*Cha*" and "*Sa*" in the names of Chimuka and Simuka, I.K. Sarma thinks that they are two different kings[111]. It is likely that the name of the king himself is Chimuka, but in Naneghat inscription it might have been changed to Simuka by his late descendants, who became more Brāhminised and started using Sanskrit forms. Similar reliance on *Purāṇas* made P.V.P. Sastry to attribute Bhāgavata religion to Gōbhada and Samagōpa, which they were not, as indicated above and on the otherhand, the symbols on their coins prove them to be Buddhist. P.V.P. Sastry, however, cautioned us that in view of our meagre knowledge of pre-Sātavāhana history, any suggestion based on mere numismatic evidence would be too early to formulate a theory [112]. However, he was certain that Sātavāhanas succeded Samagōpa and Gōbhada. This conclusion, he arrived at on the basis of palaeography. Fortunately, the excavations at Kotilingala support his view.

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109. In *ABORI*, 1968, pp 375-377, 381,
110. Pargiter, *Dynasties of Kali Age*,
111. In I.K. Sarma, pp. 92-93.
112 P.V.P. Sastry, *N.D.*, II 1., p.17

The probability of the identification of the kings Samagōpa, Gōbhada and Kaṁvāyasiri with Suṅga kings of Kaṇva family, can easily be refuted by the fact that none of the Mauryas or their successors, the Suṅgas and Kāṇvas used inscribed coins. The inscribed coins, purportedly of Mitras, found in north Panchala and elsewhere, attributed to Suṅgas, infact belonged to a different Mitra dynasty other than Suṅgas[113]. It must also be noted that no inscribed coins of these kings are found in their homeland. Recently, P.L. Gupta tried to ascribe some Eran-Vidiṣa uninscribed copper punch-marked coins to Suṅga and Simuka[114]. The Suṅgas, at the best, ruled at Pāṭaliputra and Vidiṣa and there is no other cogent evidence to show that the rule of Suṅgas extended beyond the river Narmada. Though not referred to by P.V.P. Sastry, the reference of Agnimitra ordering the division of Vidarbha into two realms cannot prove that their rule also extended to Asmaka and Andhra territory, which includes Kotilingala and Dhulikatta. V.V.K. Sastry held that except for these coins (Gōbhada and Samagōpa) we do not have any other evidence to show that the Suṅgas ruled beyond Vidarbha[115]. We have already shown that even these coins cannot be ascribed to either Suṅgas or Kaṇvas and on the other hand they must be of the descendants of Āndharaṭṭas. Symbolically, the Kotilingala coins studied by P.V.P. Sastry himself, are unique and uncomparable with any other coins found from Vidiṣa or elsewhere in North and South India. The most peculiar early symbols found on their coins, are typical *triratna* or *triratnas*, three headed standard, tree in railing and leaf designs, *swastika* with a typical pronged arms and many other symbols found on their coins which are totally different. The symbols found on the coins of north Panchala, Mitra kings also do not tally with these symbols. Sastry himself observed that Siri Sātavāhana, succeeding Samgōpa or Gōbhada, imitated the same *triratna* symbols on his coins. We know that this symbol is not seen on any of the inscribed coins of Vidiṣa or elsewhere or on North India coins of the Suṅga or Kaṇva times. The fact seems to be that the Mauryas, Suṅgas and Kāṇvas did not mint their own

113. J.Allan, *A Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, British Museum, 1936 reprint, 1967, pp. cxvii, cxx cxii; V.A. Smith, *Coins of Ancient India, Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol.1, Reprint, Varanasi, 1972, pp. 184-185, C.R.Singhle and A.S.Altekar (ed) *Bibiliography of Indian Coins*, part 1, N.SI., Bombay, 1950, pp. 12,18.20,22,23. All the authority are clear that Suṅgas, Kāṇvas and Mauryas never issued any inscribed coins. All most all the Ujjain coins were uninscribed.

114. P.L. Gupta, in A.M.Sastry(ed), pp. 41-42.

115. In V.V.K. Sastry, pp. 122-123.

coins, but only used punch-marked coins, which were prevalent in their times[116]. We have found numerous punch-marked coins at Kotilingala. The *triratna* symbol on these coins seems to be even much older than the *triratnas* seen on Barhut panels or the Sanchi gates as I have already indicated above.

The Āndhra Coins

In view of the above discussion, it is clear that the cois of Samagōpa group of pre-Sātavāhana kings and Mahātalavara of Kotilingala must be the coins of local mint of Asmaka-Āndhra territory, in the central Gōdāvarī valley, as I have already suggested. The Samagōpa group of kings must be the descendants of the Āndhraṭṭas, referred to by Buddhaghōsha and Āndrae kings mentioned by Pliny. This is the only conclusion, in the circumstances we can arrive at. In view of this, there is no need for us to work on the traditional lines basing our-selves on the methodology of relying on only the *Paurāṇic* versions. In fact, Āndharaṭṭas and their successors, the Sātavāhanas, extended their rule only from the Asmaka region and the region around Kotilingala, if one wants to narrow it down. No other region ruled by Sātavāhanas produced such tangible evidence for the existence of pre-Sātavāhana Āndhra kings, and their successors, the Sātavāhanas.

The Symbols on the Coins

A few words on the symbols and symbolism of the coins of Kotilingala seem to be necessary here. The numerous symbols, found on the Samagōpa group of kings or early kings of Sātavāhana *kula*, go to show that, these dynasties preferred to adopt the symbols prevalent among the Buddhists, as already referred to, the tribes and the petty chiefs and other kingdoms. It seems probable that, the pre-Sātavāhana Āndhra kings and their immediate successors, Siri Sātavāhana and Siri Sātakaṇi preferred to retain the symbols of the subjugated or vanquished chiefs and kings on their coins in token of their respect for the traditional values of the people whose territories they had come to take possession of. The coins of late Sātavāhana kings, as we know bear only a few standardised symbols unlike those of the early coins of Sātavāhana kings. Now we are

116. See references noted against 113 above particularly in Singhle and Altekar p.23. where the editors concluded that one do not know whether Sunga, Kaṇva or Mauryas ever issued inscribed coins.

in possession of many coins known to have come from Kotilingala, belonging to Samagōpa group of kings, and Siri Sātavāhana and Siri Sātakaṇi, apart from those of the latter two kings, found from Nevasa, Akola and Pauni and a few of Siri Sātavāhana found from Warangal and Aurangabad. All these coins either on their obverse or reverse, contain many symbols, ranging from four to seven. The symbols found on the later coins, however, do not contain more than two or three. It seems probable that, once the Sātavāhanas were fully established, they excluded many symbols and retained only few like elephant and Ujjain. One other reason may be their leanings towards revived Brāhminism from Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi onwards. We also see that rather than copper, the use of lead came into vogue in minting the coins, as lead was mostly available in late Sātavāhana times. There is a possibility of lead coins being preferred as white metal, in place of silver, which was costlier. The Kshātrapas and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and some of his successors, however, used silver for minting coins.

The Sātavāhanas and Chronology

A place named Sātakaṇṇika is mentioned as the southern boundary of Majjimadēśa in *Vinaya Piṭaka*[117]. Raya Chaudhuri suggested that the Sātakaṇṇika might have been the original place of Sātavāhanas[118]. According to the placement of Sātakaṇṇika, it seems that the place is not far away from the Viṅdhyas and the region surrounding, it might have been extended to Satpura hill ranges. We have Satmala hills, otherwise called Nirmal ghats, the eastern extension of Sahyadriparvat in Adilabad district. In case we accept that, the ancestors of Sātavāhanas lived in Sātakaṇṇika or the region around it, it seems probable that these people were in relationship with Āndhras of Viṅdhya region and most possibly in later times, branch of the pre-Sātavāhana Āndhra kings. The Sātavāhanas, we know also went into close relationship with Raṭṭhikas, Bhōjas and Talavaras. The later books of the Jains, however show them as ruling from Paiṭhān (Prathishṭhāna[119]). The *Kathāsaritsāgara*[120] also connects a late king Sātavāhana with Paiṭhān. Both Ptolemy and Periplus[121] connect the late Sātavāhana

117. In Malalasekara, p.419; *Vinaya Pitaka* Oldenberg (ed), i. 197; *S.B.E.*, xvii-38.
118. In Raychaudhuri, p. 364.
119. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, x, 133F; Rapson, E.J., *Andhra Coins of B.M.*, 1908, p xxxix.
120. Tawney, C.H.(tr), *The Ocean of Story*, Vol.1, Delhi, Reprint, 1968, pp. 60, 67-68.
121. In R.C Majumdar, pp.376, 304-305.

kings with Paiṭhān and the region surrounding it. Here, it must be noted that the two excavations conducted by Syed Yusuf[122] and M.G. Dikhshit[123] did not bring home any early Sātavāhana rule from Paiṭhān, except that the bottom layers of Paithan yielded coins of late Sātavāhana kings, including those of Gajalakshmi type of one Sātakaṇi. The Gajalakshmi motif is seen on Sanchi gate columns and is a late one adopted by the Buddhist. V.V.K. Sastry found a terracotta seal of Gajalakshmi motif, which, he assigned to first century B.C.[124]. There is every possibility that, the Sātavāhanas represented in earlier strata were in occupation of Asmaka-Āndhra region around Kōṭiliṅgāla. Buddhaghōsha refers to a king Sātavāhana who married a girl introduced to him by a monk and made her the chief queen. This king Sātavāhana may be an early king[125].

Siri Chimuka Sātavāhana known from Kotilingala coins must be the same as Simuka Sātavāhana of Naneghat label inscription [126] and may be the reviver of the glory of Sātavāhana dynasty in the same way as his late descendant Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi did. The coins of Chimuka are found along with the coins of Nārāṇa, most probably a descendant of Samagōpa, who might have defeated some Sātavāhana weakling and captured the power temporarily. Chimuka might have regained the power from Nārana or his descendant Kaṁvāyasiri and put back his dynastic rule. The first Sātavāhana king or the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty seems to have come to rule in between 300-200 B.C. and Chimuka might have ruled in the first century B.C. The dynastic rule of pre-Sātavāhana Andhra kings represented by Samagōpa and his predecessors might have begun in between 400 - 300 B.C., but Samagōpa himself possibly ruled before Siri Sātavāhana in the third century B.C. This chronology is tentative, as we have no absolute dates for them at present. This may, however, help us in fixing up their rule in a broader periodisation. As we have seen, Buddhaghōsha stated that the Andhra-rattas were the contemporaries of Bāvari, who was in turn the contemporary of Buddha. By necessary implication this may, however, take the reinstation of pre-Sātavāhana

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122. *Paithan Excavations*, Hyderabad, 1938, pp. 5,9.
123. *I.A.R.*, 1956-66, p.28; I.K. Sarma, p.33.
124. In V.V.K Sastry, p.224.
125. Buddhaghosha's Commentary on *Digha Nikāya* namely *Sumaṅgala Vilāsini* P.T.S. i, 303; Malalasekara, p. 1091.
126. E.J. Rapson's *Andhra Coins*, pp. xiv-xvi.

Andhra rule in 500-400 B.C. It must however, be remembered that in 5th-6th centuries B.C., the Asmakas were ruling this region.

Khāravēla and Sātakarṇi

One of the Sātakaṇis of Kotilingala ruling before Chimuka, seems to be the contemporary of Khāravēla of Kaliṅga, against whom he proceeded to the west, without any fear of the power of Sātakaṇi, and attacked his allies, the Rathikas and Bhōjas. It must be noted here that earlier the Asmakas were in conflict with the Kaliṅgas, but they became friendly through matrimonial relations[127]. This Sātakaṇi or Sātakarṇi and his predecessors, like Siri Sātavāhana and probably their descendant Chimuka or Simuka were not known to the *Paurāṇikas*. The *Paurāṇikas* know the other Sātavāhana kings either as *Āṅdhrajātiya* or *Āṅdhrabhṛitya*. This *Paurāṇic* name *Āṅdhrabhṛitya* may indicate that once the Sātavāhanas were the subordinates of the Āndhragōpas, as I have named them or Āndharaṭṭas and their descendants, like Gōbhada and Samagōpa. It may be, however wrong to say that the Sātavāhanas were the subordinates of Kāṇvas or were in their service.

Siṅdhuka of Purāṇas

The *Purāṇas* clearly indicate that some Siṅdhuka or Siśuka and his fellowmen were the Āṅdhras and in the service of Kāṇvas. This does not go to show that, the Kāṇvas were the over-lords of the Andhra kingdom of Gōdāvarī valley. Siṅdhuka or Sisuka and a few more Āndhras might have joined the service under the last Kāṇva and became instrumental in killing Suśarma and capturing the power at Vidiṣa. However, there is no evidence to show that this Siṅdhuka had any thing to do with the Āṅdhra kingdom in the Gōdāvarī valley. Paurāṇikas must have mixed up the entire affair of later Sātavāhana kings and Siṅdhuka, and Āndhra in the service of Kāṇvas. The appellation, Sātavāhana after the personal name of Simuka of the inscriptions and Chimuka of the coins definitely shows that he is a later king than the founder king Siri Sātavāhana and that he belonged to the Sātavāhana family. There is no evidence to show that Simuka or Chimuka or any other king named in *Purāṇas* at any time lived in Vidiṣa under the Kāṇvas and killed Kāṇva Suśarman. The Kotilingala Sātavāhana coins including those

127. In Cowell(ed), Vol 3 J.301, *Cullakaliṅga* Jātaka.

of Chimuka indicate this. What exactly happened after Chimuka came to power and how the Sātavāhanas made Paiṭhan their political centre is not known, but there is sufficient evidence to show that though late, the political activity of Sātavāhanas centred around Paiṭhān. The reason may be both political and economic. Political because they had to safeguard their interests in the west against the Śaka inroads and protect their western borders, and economic because the western coast trade became important. Soon after the western coast trade became the bone of contention between Sātavāhana and Śaka-Kshātrapas is a known fact, which is also indicated in Periplus[128].

Of Coastal Andhras and Karnataka

Commenting on the views held by earlier scholars,[129] about the original home of Āndhra Sātavāhana, I.K. Sarma observed that explicit evidence is accumulating to prove that the early group of Sātavāhana kings belonged to and rose to power in the northern and western Deccan and that the present day coastal-Andhra-Karnataka territories only came under the grip of Sātavāhanas from the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. According to him, his study of the entire Sātavāhana coinage in its totality, had failed to produce a single specimen of pre-Gautamīputra series in any of the sites excavated and explored so far in coastal Āndhra and Karnataka. He further observed that even the problem oriented (stratifaed) excavations conducted both at Amaravati *stūpa* and Dharanikota, in recent years, had failed to yield even a scrap of evidence, either epigraphic or numismatic, of pre-Gautamīputra times. According to him, not a single coin or record of Gautamīputra is found so far in the stratified context in any one of the sites of coastal and Karnataka regions [130]. This author almost agrees with the view held by I.K.Sarma in the matter except that they originally initiated their rule in mid-Gōdāvarī valley in only Asmaka territory. Even the recent reports published in the Souvenir released at the Sātavāhana seminar of 1981[131] at Hyderabad, support the above view, which seems to be almost conclusive. V.V.K. Sastry almost a decade back

128. In R.C. Majumdar, pp. 304-305.
129. Refer to note 1 above; O.Ramachandraiah, *Sātavāhanas and their successors* Madras, 1978; R. Subrahmanyam, A.P. Archaeology Series, No. 3, Hyderabad, 1968, pp 1-3.
130. In I.K Sarma, pp. 7-8.
131. Sātavāhana Seminar, Hyderabad, March, 1981 and papers by V.V.K.Sastry pp. 1-4; K.D. Bajpai, pp. 19-21; B.K. Gururaja Rao, pp. 27-43; M.K. Dhavalikar, pp 46-49; A.M. Sastri, pp. 50-52.

indicated that the political nucleus of Āndhra-Sātavāhanas may be found in Karimnagar region. The results obtained from the excavations conducted in Karimnagar region make it necessary to explore the contiguous regions around Kotilingala, like the districts of Adilabad. Yavatmal, Nanded and Parbhani on the one hand and Nizamabad, Medak and Warangal on the other, in finding out suitable early historical sites for the purpose of problem-oriented excavations. Taking up excavations at Kondapur and the adjacent sites, if any, is also essential, as we know that every day the sites are being destroyed. It is the duty of every historian and archaeologist interested in Āndhra-Sātavāhana research, to take urgent steps towards this end. The multi-disciplinary archaeological collaboration of the contiguous states may help in obtaining further and useful information for the final writing of the Āndhra-Sātavāhana history.

Conclusion

All the sources, literary as well as archaeological, put together, go to show that the Āndhras, Mutibas and Sabaras migrated to the south and occupied central Gōdāvarī valley and slowly carved out different local kingdoms, first in some parts of Asmaka territory, comprising parts of north Telangana and possibly some parts of Maratwada and Vidarbha. Finally, pre-Sātavāhana Āndhra kings established their kingdoms at the cost of Asmaka-Muḷakas and united all the chiefs, tribal or other wise, and the kings subordinate to them under one umbrella. The Sātavāhanas, after them, did the same and established an empire so great that some of their descendants claimed that they were the lords of *Dakshiṇāpatha* and their kingdom extended to three seas. It must be noted here that in the beginning the west-coast played a prominent part, while the east-coast became prominent in the later Sātavāhana times, during which time, we find many coins of late Sātavāhana kings, not only in the regions under consideration, but also the regions covered by the lower Gōdāvarī-Krishṇā valleys and Krishṇā-Ṭuṅgabhadra valley and beyond these regions, into farther south. Likewise, their empire extended in the north to Ujjain and Vidiṣa, if not Pāṭaliputra. Paiṭhan came into prominence only after Chimuka or Simuka Sātavāhana.

Fresh Results

The fresh results arrived at now may be summarised as follows :

(i) That, originally the Āndhras were a non-Āryan tribe living around, the Vindhyas; later brought into the Āryan-fold, under the lead of Vrātya Viśwāmitras. The Āndhras along with some other tribes slowly migrated to the parts of Vidarbha, Asmaka and Muḷaka territories. This probably happened between 800 and 600 B.C.

(ii) That, the Āndhras are none other than the Āndharaṭṭas of Buddhaghōsha, who captured the Asmaka-Muḷaka territories including the region around Kotilingala in north Telangana of Andhra Pradesh around 500-400 B.C., or alternatively during the times of later Nandas or Chandragupta Maurya i.e., fourth century B.C., at the least in view of the statement of Pliny or for the reason that Asmaka Janapada existed in 6th-5th centuries B.C. in this region.

(iii) That, the powerful Āndrae kings noted by Pliny, based on the earlier statement of Megasthanese, were the same as those of Āndhraṭṭas, spoken of by Buddhaghōsha.

(iv) That, the pre-Sātavāhana kings like Samagōpa and Gōbhada, now known to us from their coins found at Kotilingala and Dhulikatta, earlier named by me as Āndhragōpas, were none other than the Āndharaṭṭas and Āndrae and these kings may represent the descendants of Āndharaṭṭas or Āndrae.

(v) That, the Sātavāhanas wrested the power from the Āndhras represented by Gōbhada and Samagōpa in the central valley of Gōdāvarī and one of their late successors, most probably, Simuka Krishṇa shifted to Paiṭhan region. From the region around Paiṭhan, the Sātavāhanas extended their power to all the corners.

(vi) That, there is no cogent or other evidence available to show that Nandas, Mauryas and Aśōka ruled over the Āndhra of the Central Gōdāvarī valley, as none of their vestiges or Aśōkan inscriptions are found in the region.

The statement in the Aśōkan inscriptions about Āndhras, Rathikas and Vidarbhas is either boastful or the influence of Aśōka might have been limited to Konkan region and Tungabhadra valley; including Kurnool on the west-coast and lower Gōdāvarī-Krishṇa valley including the Krishṇa and Guntur districts on the eastern coast.

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THE SĀTAVĀHANA CHRONOLOGY

-Dr. C. Soma Sundara Rao

From The Purāṇic View Point

Purāṇas are one of the most important sources for determining the Sātavāhana chronology. They enumerate the names of the kings of various dynasties of ancient India and their years of rule. Their general statements give the total number of kings and the duration of every dynasty. These merits are vitiated by certain inherent defects as detailed below in their statements. Still, for succession of kings and the chronology of all dynasties, they are the main guides.

The Āndhras (Sātavāhanas of the inscriptions) were mentioned in all the *Purāṇas* as the successors of Kaṇvas. Śiśuka or Sipraka (Simuka of the inscription), of the Āndhra Jāti was a *'Kāṇvabhṛtya'* and the slayer of Kāṇva Suśarman. The end of the Kāṇva family should have taken place in 28 B.C., as the *Purāṇas* assign 294 years of rule for the Maurya - Suṅga - Kāṇva families and as the Mauryan power was established in *circa* 322 B.C. While there is general agreement among scholars that 28 B.C. marks the end of the Kāṇva dynasty, there are differences among them as regards the identification of Simuka, the slayer of Suśarman.

In regard to the succession and periods of rule of the Sātavāhanas, there are, however, differences in the *Purāṇic* accounts. The general and specific statements differ. The *Matsya Purāṇa* states that 19 kings ruled for 460 years, while it enumerates the names of 30 kings, whose years of rule come to a total of 448 $^1/_2$ years. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* says that 30 kings ruled for 411 or 456 years, but gives a list of 17 or 19 kings only, with a rule of 272 $^1/_2$ or 300 years. The *Bhāgavata* and the *Viṣṇu* do not give the individual years of rule, but say that 30 kings ruled for 456 years and give a list of 22 and 24 names of kings respectively[1]. Taking 19 as 29 in the general statement of the *Matsya Purāṇa*(as *ēkōnaviṁśat* might be *ēkōnatriṁśat*) as is more probable, in as much as it recounts 30 kings specifically, we may accept the near unanimity in the general

1. *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* mentions 32 kings with 516 years as the duration of their rule. This book differs from all the *Purāṇas* in several important respects. Moreover, scholars have found this source of information as unreliable (vide the observations of Jagan Nath in IHC., 1944, pp. 119 ff., while considering the Gupta dynastry). Hence no reference is made to it.

statements of the *Purāṇas* about a total of 30 kings ruling over the country for 450 - 460 years.

Professors R.G. Bhandarkar, D.R. Bhandarkar, H.C. Raychaudhuri and D.C. Sircar are prepared to accept the unanimous *Purāṇic* statement that Simuka was the slayer of Kāṇva Suśarman, and they date his rise to power in 28 B.C[2]. They reject the other near unanimous statement that the Āndhra rule extended about 450 years; for, in that case, it would take their rule into the 5th century A.D., which is impossible to accept. So Prof. R.G. Bhandarkar discussed the material of the *Purāṇas* to arrive at a chronology that would end the dynasty by about 265 A.D., thus reducing the duration of the dynasty to about 300 years. All the scholars are agreed in saying that the Āndhra rule did not extend beyond the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D.

The difficulties in accepting Bhandarkar's three - century duration are detailed below:-

(i) Bhandarkar places the initial year of the Andhra rule in 73 B.C. He regards the rule of the Suṅgas and Kāṇvas as simultaneous[3], which is erroneous in view of the dynastic succession in the *Purāṇas*. Even the supporters of Bhandarkar's theory of three-century rule do not accept this initial date.

(ii) Bhandarkar ignores the general statement of the *Purāṇas*, including the *Vāyu Purāṇa* about the rule of the Āndhras extending about 450 years; and instead accepts 300 years, because, the details of the rule of 19 kings specifically mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* come to 272 $^1/_2$ years. But it may be pointed out that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* states that it was speaking of the leading names of the family; and this shows that it has made a selection of the most outstanding out of a longer list of kings. It is not easy to explain how an important king like Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi could be omitted. A king like Lambōdara, whom the *Matsya* mentions as the son of the preceding king Sātakarṇi, finds no mention. We may conclude that the list given in the

2. For Bhandarkars, the date is 73 B.C. But this is based on the wrong supposition that the Suṅgas and the Kāṇvas ruled contemporaneously. H.C. Raychaudhuri however places it in 60 B.C. (*PHAI*, 7th Edition, p.336).
3. BHD., Collected Works, p.44.

Vāyu Purāṇa cannot be regarded as complete; and so the reduction in the duration of the Āndhra rule is unacceptable. Its general statement that it extends over 411 or 456 years is more reasonable.

(iii) Bhandarkar argues that the difference in the lists given by the *Matsya* and the *Vāyu* (30 and 19 names respectively) can be explained by taking that the former has pooled together the names of members of different branches of the Sātavāhana family, while the latter has confined itself to the list of crowned kings of the main faimly. This is open to the following objections:

(a) The *Vāyu Purāṇa* has omitted the name of Puḷumāvi (son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi) whose rule is borne out by epigraphic and numismatic evidences;

(b) Bhandarkar himself admitted the rule of Sivasri and Sivaskanda, who are omitted in the *Vāyu*;

(c) If the *Matsya* has mentioned all the princes of the family ruling at different places, how is it that it does not include in its list Sātavāhana, Kuṁbha, Karṇa, Śaka and Rudra Sātakarṇis, who are known from coins?

(d) Again, if the *Matsya* has included the duration of rule as heir-apparent in the individual years of rule, how are we to explain the assignment of the same years of rule in both the *Matsya* and *Vāyu,* to kings like Sātakarṇi II, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi?

(e) If Bhandarkar's argument is accepted, the total duration of rule comes to 272 ½ to 300 years. When these years are added to 28 B.C., the date of foundation of the Sātavāhana power, the last date would be 244 ½ to 272 A.D. But the scholars who place the foundation in 1st century B.C. are unanimous in giving 200-225 A.D. as the last date of the Sātavāhana power.

The explanation of the differences in the *Matsya* and *Vāyu* lists by R.G. Bhandarkar was connected with his theory that the king was ruling at Dhanakaṭaka and the heir-apparent at Paiṭhān. This proposition itself was to suit another evidence viz., the rule of Puḷumāvi (son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi) at Paiṭhān, as is known from the account of Ptolemy dated to 150 A.D. Since Dr. Bhandarkar believed that the inscriptions of Nahapāna were dated in the *Śaka* era, he placed Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in *Circa* 133 - 154 A.D., some time after 124 A.D., the last date of Nahapāna. All this period

(130 - 154 A.D.) his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi must have been governing the Western area, so that he would be a contemporary of Chaṣṭana, as per the evidence of Ptolemy.

Again, while conceding the rule of Śivaśrī and Śivaskaṇda, who were not mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Dr. Bhandarkar places Yajña Śrī as the ruler at Paiṭhan, contemporaneous with the rulers Śiva Śrī and Śivaskaṇda, at Dhanakaṭaka. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Puḷumāvi, Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi, Chaṣṭana, Rudradāman - all of them, would have been contemporaries by 150 A.D. This is difficult to believe. As will be discussed in Chapter III below, Nahapāṇa-Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Chaṣṭana-Puḷumāvi, Rudradāman-Yajña Sātakarṇi synchronisms are more acceptable than the above proposition.

It may be noted that the theory that the king was ruling at Dhanakataka, is dependent on the reading '*Dhanakaṭaka-sāmiṇēhi*' in one of the inscriptions at Nasik. Whether it refers to the Lord of Dhanakaṭaka or to the monks of Dhanakaṭaka; or whether the reading is 'Benakaṭaka-Sāmiṇēhi, which may mean the Lord of Benakaṭaka is all doubtful. In addition to the doubtful reading, it may be pointed out that early records of the Sātavāhanas are conspicuous by their absence in coastal Andhra in general and at Amarāvati-Dhanakaṭaka in particular.

It is only from Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi onwards, that we have his coins at Amaravati and Chebrolu, and inscriptions from the time of his son, Puḷumāvi, which indicate the prevelance of their authority in Coastal Andhra.

If the authority of the Early Sātavāhanas (from Simuka to Śivasvāti, the 22nd king in the *Purāṇic* list) was confined to parts of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and at best to a part of Telangana, should we believe that there were different branches of the Sātavāhana family in all these places? Even if there were some branches, it would be difficult to associate the rulers with any of the above areas,as, for most of these rulers there is no evidence except their mention in the *Purāṇas*.

Scholars who accept the four-century rule of the Andhras do not agree with the unanimous statement of the *Purāṇas* that Simuka was the slayer of Kāṇva Suśarman. They believe that it was a successor of Simuka that had killed him, one of the kings

Mṛgendra, Kuntala, Svātivarṇa or Puḷumāvi I. Professors G.Venkata Rao[4] and O. Ramachandraiyya[5] regard Puḷumāvi I as the slayer. It may be stated that though the *Vāyu Purāṇa* says it has listed outstanding kings, actually it has included kings with a rule of one year or half-year, particularly from Puḷumāvi I to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi; and this list is the same as that given in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. This is evident because, the *Vāyu Purāṇa* has given prominence to Puḷumāvi as the victor over Suśarman; and in his lineage, his successors find mention, though weak, as can easily be surmised from the Kṣaharāṭa successes before Gautamīputra. Placing Puḷumāvi I in 28 B.C., these scholars would start the Sātavāhana rule in 271 B.C. They, however, admit that Simuka was not an independent ruler, but only the founder of the family. His brother Kṛṣṇa started the independent rule after the death of Aśōka in 232.B.C., and he issued the Nasik inscription in his own right.

Dr. S. Chattopadhyaya also believes that the dyansty ruled for more than four centuries, in spite of the variation in the *Purāṇas* in respect of years of rule and differences in the enumeration of the names of kings[6]. He tried to reconcile both the statements viz. that Simuka killed Kāṇva Suśarman and that the Āndhras ruled for more than four centuries, by postulating that Simuka was wrongly mentioned in the *Purāṇas* as the progenitor of the family, while he was only the slayer of Suśarman and leader of the Āndhra family which flourished after the end of the Kāṇva rule. Dr. Chattopadhyaya, takes into consideration the two traditions available in the *Purāṇas*, viz., that 17 or 19 kings ruled for 272 $^{1}/_{2}$ years or 300 years; that 30 kings ruled for 411 or 456 years. According to him, Simuka and his successors should have been 17 or 19 who ruled from 28 B.C. to about 200 or 220 A.D., and that the rest ruled prior to Simuka. This is based on a statement of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* that the earth will again go to the *Āndhra* (*Punar Āndhrān gamiṣyati*[7]). The scholar says that even before the rule of the Kāṇvas, the Āndhras must have been reigning in the Deccan from 3rd century B.C., but their dyansty came to be noted in the *Purāṇas* when they occupied the Vidiśa region from the Kāṇvas under Āndhra Simuka.

4. G. Yazdani (Ed.), EHD., I, p89.
5. JSC Volume, p. 239.
6. *JIH.*, Vol. XLIV, pp.359 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, p.361.

This premise of Dr. Chattopadhyaya does not lead us anywhere, because, the rule of the earlier Āndhras before Simuka is not clear. The names of the kings mentioned in the *Purāṇas*, not known from other sources, should be considered as belonging to the earlier family. This is not much different from the theory of branches of the Sātavāhana family postulated by R.G. Bhandarkar, which, would condense their rule to three centuries or less.

Now, even if we agree with the scholars who believe that the Sātavāhana dynasty came to power in 28 B.C. and accept that the *Vāyu* list should provide a solution, there are a number of difficulties. These scholars consider that 106 A.D. was the date of Gautamīputra's accession, on the basis of his contemporaneity with Nahapāṇa. The latter's inscriptions give years 41 to 46 which are assigned by these scholars to the *Śaka* era which gives 124 A.D. as the last date of Nahapāṇa. They equate the 18th year of Gautamīputra with 124 A.D. and arrive at 106 A.D. as the date of his accession.

The difficulties in accepting this date are :

(i) Even after taking the shorter list given in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Gautamīputra's 13 predecessors ruled for 245 $^1/_2$ years, which, when deducted from 106 A.D. takes us to 140 B.C., as the initial year of the Sātavāhana rule. This goes against the acceptance of the initial year of Sātavāhana rule as 28 B.C.

(ii) Again 140 B.C., as the starting year has no basis at all, since the *Purāṇas* point to a date in the 3rd century B.C., according to some scholars and 1st century B.C., according to some others.

(iii) If 28 B.C, were to be the starting point, Gautamīputra' accession should be placed in 196 A.D. All the scholars are however, agreed that Gautamīputra cannot be taken to a date later than 130 A.D.

(iv) If 106 A.D. was the date of accession of Gautamīputra, the initial year of the Sātavāhana rule, taking the *Matsya* list into account, would be 222 B. C. (328$^1/_2$ - 106 A.D.). In such a case, Puḷumāvi, the 15th ruler, could not have been the slayer of Suśarman, but one of his predecessors. But among the kings, Nos. 11 to 15 of the *Matsya* list, the slayer of the Kāṇva king could be Puḷumāvi,

because his name, like that of Sātakarṇi, recurs in the *Purāṇic* lists and also because there is agreement in the list of kings given by both the *Matsya* and *Vāyu*, from his time to Gautamīputra. He must have done something outstanding worthy of assumption of his name by his successors.

(v) The only merit of the theories advocating 234 to 221 B.C. as the initial year of the rule is that Āndhras should have commenced their rule after the death of Aśōka. This is quite possible, because Aśōka refers to the Āndhras as the border people and also because his inscriptions are available in the Andhra region at Erragudi, Rajula Mandagiri and Amaravati.

TABLE

MATSYA PURĀṆA			VĀYU PURĀṆA		
Sl. No.	Name of the King.	Years of rule	Sl. No.	Name of the King	Years of rule
1.	Śiśuka	23	1.	Sindhuka	23
2.	Kṛṣṇa (brother of 1)	18	2.	Kṛṣṇa	18 or 10
3.	Śrī Sātakarṇi or Mallakarṇi(son of 2)	10	3.	Śrī Sātakarṇi	10
4.	Purṇōtsaṅga	18			
5.	Skandastambhi	18			
6.	Sātakarṇi	56	4.	Sātakarṇi	56
7.	Lambōdara (son of 6)	18	5.	Lambōdara	18[8]
8.	Āpīlaka (son of 7)	12	6.	Āpīlava	12
9.	Mēghasvāti	18			
10.	Svāti	18			

8. F.F. Pargiter says that Lambōdara was referred to in all the *Matsya* manuscripts and only in the 'e' *Vāyu* manuscript (p.39, f.n.43). The 'e' *Vāyu*'s total of kings is 25, while the other manuscripts give only 17 or 18 names. If this name is deleted from the general list of the *Vāyu*, there will be only 18 kings with a total of 282 $^1/_2$ years of rule.

11.	Skandasvāti	7			
12.	Mṛgēndrasvātikarṇa	3			
13.	Kuntala Svātikarṇa	8			
14..	Svātikarṇa	1			
15.	Puḷōmāvi	36	7.	Patumāvi	24
16.	Ariṣṭakarṇa or Gauravarṇa or Riktavarṇa	25	8.	Nēmi Kṛṣṇa	25
17.	Hāla	5	9.	Hāla	1
18.	Maṇṭalaka	5	10.	Paṭṭalaka	5
19.	Purīndrasēna	21(?)	11.	Purikasēna	21
20.	Sundara Sātakarṇi	1	12.	Sātakarṇi	1
21.	Cakōra Sātakarṇi	½	13.	Cakōra Sātakarṇi	½
22.	Śivasvāti	28	14.	Śivasvāmi	28
23.	Gautamīputra	21[9]	15.	Gautamīputra	21
24.	Pulōma (son of 23)	28			
25.	Śivaśrī (Pulōma)	7			
26.	Śivaskanda (son of 25)	3[10]			
27.	Yajña Śrī	29	16.	Yajña Śrī	19 (29)
28.	Vijaya	6	17.	Vijaya	6
29.	Caṇḍa Śrī (son of 28)	10	18	Daṇḍa Śrī	3
30	Pulōmāvi	7[11]	19.	Pulōmāvi	7

9. All the *Purāṇas* give 21 years of rule, but he ruled for a minimum period of 24 years, as one of the Nasik inscriptions was dated in that year.
10. His years of rule are not given. Pargiter's emendation of the text makes him ruler for 3 years (p.42, f.n.7).
11. Contra, the Myakadoni inscription of the king dated in his 8th year (Ep. Ind., XIV, p.155). Sukthankar's identification of this king with Puḷumāvi, son of Gautamīputra is wrong in view of the late characters of the inscription which agree with those of the Ikshvākus.

From The View-point Of The Early Sātavāhana History

The difficulties that the *Purāṇas* present in solving the chronology could, according to some scholars, be got over by a study of the early Sātavāhana history. The discussion centers round the place of Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Naneghat record[12] as the performer of many sacrifices. If his place in the Sātavāhana succession and date of his rule can be fixed, the *Purāṇic* date could be utilized either way i.e., 3rd century B.C. or 1st century B.C., as the time of the foundation of the Sātavāhana power. But these problems could not be solved independently. Hence reference is made to the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravēla[13], where the king claims to have invaded in his 2nd regnal year the territory of one Sātakarṇi. If the rival of Khāravēla were the Sātakarṇi of the Naneghat inscription, the date of Khāravēla could be put to use for Sātakarṇi. But the date and palaeography of the Hathigumpha inscription, are themselves debated points. However, we shall briefly point out the date of the Hathigumpha inscription.

Some of the details supplied by the Hathigumpha record regarding his achievements have some significance. For instance, in the fifth regnal year, the king is said to have extended the canal dug by the Nandas 300 years before. The words used for the numeral are 'Tivasaśata'. Even though they could also mean 103 years, the date derivable would be 324-22 B.C. (the last date of the Nandas) - 103 year = 221 - 19 B.C. which is impossible for Khāravēla. Though, there are differences in regard to the date of Khāravēla, no scholar would place him in 3rd century B.C. It is ranging only between 2nd century B.C., and 1st century B.C., should the words imply 300 years, wherefore, the date of Khāravēla would be *circa* 24 -22 B.C.

Another clue to the date of Khāravēla can be noticed in the inscription. In the 12th regnal year, he is said to have made Bahasatimita, the king of Magadha, bow down to his authority. Bahasatimita is identified by some scholars with Pushyamitra Sunga and hence Khāravēla is dated to 2nd century B.C. But this identification seems to be far- fetched. It could be the name of a king called Brihaspatimitra, belonging to the rulers of Pañchāla where Mitra- ending names were common[14].

12. *Sel. Ins.*, pp.186 ff.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 206 ff.
14. See K.A.N. Sastri (ed), *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, pp.106-07.

Now, with regard to the palaeography, there is a wide divergence of opinion. The Brāhmi script used between the Aśōkan times and the Kushāṇa periods cannot be exactly dated. Dated inscriptions are few; and palaeographical differences could be explained as chronological or local differences.

There are scholars like Bühler who believe that the Naneghat and Hatigumpha inscriptions show slight variation from those of Aśōka and hence could be dated to 2nd century B.C. But Dr. D.C. Sircar points out[15] that the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus of the time of Suṅga Bhāgabhadra, datable to *circa* 90 B.C., should be the basis of comparison and not the Asokan edicts. He feels that the script employed in the Naneghat and Hathigumpha inscriptions is later than that of the Besnagar inscription. So, they should have been issued after *circa* 90 B.C., which shatters the theory of a date for the Sātavāhanas in 3rd century B.C.

It may be noted that, the palaeography of the Besnagar record could be mistaken to be an inscription of Aśōka, because of little development in the script. If that was the stage in c.90 B.C., the developments which we find in the Naneghat record in so far as the shortening of the lengths of letters like k, p, ph, ṣ, etc. show a later date. Optional forms in respect of t and v show both angular and cursive features. Still later is the Hathigumpha record; for, angular forms and straight bases of letters *v, m, p, h* and *y* have led Dr. D.C. Sircar to date it to the end of 1st century B.C. or the beginning of 1st century A.D.[16]

If Khāravēla is assigned to late Ist century B.C. or early Ist century A.D., his contemporary Sātakarṇi also should be dated to that period. If palaeography is to be considered, Khāravēla should have defeated a Sātakarṇi, who was a successor of the Sātakarṇi of the Naneghat record. Anyway, the Sātavāhana beginnings in 1st century B.C. could be the indication from this discussion of the date and paleography of the Hathigumpha record.

The palaeography of the coins of the early Sātavāhanas is again disputed. Coins with the legends 'Sāta', 'Sāti', 'Sātavāhana', Sātakarṇi are dated differently. eg., coins

15. *Sel. Ins.*, p.206 f.n.1; p. 207 f.n.7.
16. *Sel. Ins.*, p.206 f.n.1; p. 207 f.n.7.

of Sātavāhana are attributed to 3rd-2nd century B.C., by Prof. V.V. Mirashi[17], Dr. S.B. Deo[18] also prefers a date in 3rd century B.C., for the foundation and says that there could have been a number of kings named as Sātavāhana in different centuries in B.C., on palaeographical grounds.

The coins of Chimuka, attributed to Simuka, the founder of the dynasty are assigned by Dr. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry to *circa* 50 B.C.[19] But the palaeography of the coins is certainly later than that of the Naneghat inscription where angular feature of *m* and developed from of *k* are significant. It is also to be noted in this connection that Dr. I.K. Sarma doesn't regard this Chimuka as the founder of the dyansty, but shows him a place in 1st century B.C. taking the foundation to have occurred in 3rd century B.C.[20]

More than these palaeograhical similarities and differences, which have been discussed for chronological purposes, Dr. P.L. Gupta and Dr. Ajay Mitra Sastri[21] have pointed out that the evolution of coin-legends in India would not allow the datability of the Sātavāhana coins to 3rd -2nd century B.C. They state that the coins of the kings with or without royal prefixes start only from 1st century B.C. , and therefore, it would be in the fitness of things that the coins of the Sātavāhana should be attributed to 1st century B.C. at the earliest. There is much to be said in favour of this view, because, the Indian coins were indebted to the foreign coins in so far as the legends are concerned. Moreover, when no individual coinage of the Mauryas or Suṅgas or Kāṇvas has been discovered, except for the use of punch- marked coins at that period, it is difficult to believe that in the Deccan, the Sātavāhanas issued coins with legends in 2nd century B.C.

From a consideration of the Hatigumpha inscription of Khāravēla and the coin-legends of the Early Sātavāhanas, it is possible that the Sātavāhana dynasty came into being only in 1st cenutry B.C. This might, to some extent, confirm the view-point of the scholars who hold that the Āndhras or Sātavāhanas succeeded the Kāṇvas in 28 B.C., and that their rise in 3rd century B.C. is impossible.

17. *JNSI*, Vol. VII, pp.2-3; Ibid., XI, PP. 5 ff.
18 From History to pre History at Nevasa, 176.
19 J.E.S.I, Vol. V, pp.136-42
20. *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire*, p. 92-93.
21. *JNSI.*, Vol. XVI, pp.86-89; *Coinage of the Sātavāhana and Coins from Excavations*, p.107

From The Kshātrapa View-Point

The difficulties encountered by scholars, in using the *Purāṇic* material and early Sātavāhana inscriptions and coins for chronological purposes, have led them to discuss the Sātavāhana relations with the Kshātrapas viz., Kṣaharāṭas and Kārdamakas. Nahapāṇa of the Kshaharāṭa dyansty was overthrown by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. If the date of the rule of Nahapāṇa were available, that of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi could also be fixed nearby.

The achievement of Gautamīputra was recorded in the Nasik inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi of his 19th year[22]. It styles Gautamīputra as the destroyer of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas. To one of these foreign families belonged the Kshaharāṭas, whose dynasty Gautamīputra is said to have effaced. By crushing these powers, he became the restorer of the fortunes of the Sātavāhana family.

Though the inscription mentions the families with which Gautamīputra came into conflict, it does not record the names of the defeated kings. However, at Joghaltembhi[23], a hoard was found containing about 13,270 silver coins of one Kshaharāṭa Nahapāṇa. Of these coins, about 9,270 are found restruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. This would indicate that Gautamīputra defeated Nahapāṇa before he restruck his coins. Inscriptions of this Nahapāṇa are found at Nasik, Karle and Junnar. The place-names mentioned in these inscriptions could be located in the provinces referred to, in the Nasik inscription of Puḷumāvi dated in his 19th regnal year, as belonging to Gautamīputra. This shows that Gautamīputra wrested all the regions from Nahapāṇa. So, if Nahapāṇa's date is available, Gautamīputra's date can also be known.

Nahapāṇa's inscriptions contain dates ranging from years 41 to 46. There is no reference in the inscriptions themselves to the era to which these years belonged. It is also not known whether they were the regnal years of Nahapāṇa.

(I) *Theory of the Śaka Era*

R.G. Bhandarkar[24] and Rapson [25] and many other scholars regard the years of Nahapāṇa's inscriptions as of the *Śaka* era. Rapson pointed out that the term '*Varṣa*' precedes numerals in the inscriptions of Nahapāṇa and in those of the Kārdamaka branch, from Çaṣṭana onwards. As the latter set of inscriptions is definitely dated in the *Śaka* era, it is likely that Nahapāṇa who preceded the Çaṣṭana group of kings, should have used that era in his inscriptions.

The last date of Nahapāṇa, according to this scheme, would be 124 A.D. (year 46 + 78 A.D.). Nahapāṇa would have been defeated either in 124 A.D, or a little later. This should have occurred, according to Rapson, in the 18th regnal year of Gautamīputra; for, one of his inscriptions of Nasik dated in that year, refers to his victory in a battle-field, probably over the Kshaharāṭas.

In so far as the contemporaneity of Nahapāṇa and Gautamīputra is concerned, there is no difficulty in accepting this theory. But, assigning the years of the inscriptions of Nahapāṇa to the *Śaka* era is open to objections:

(1) It crowds many events in a very short period, as stated by R.D. Banerji[26]. By 124 A.D., the Kshaharāṭa power was destroyed; Gautamīputra held sway in the same region; again, before 130 A.D., he lost Māḷwa to Çaṣṭana. The transference of authority from one dynasty to the other in such a short period is difficult to believe. Moreover, the Nasik *praśasti* dated in the 19th regnal year of Puḷumāvi makes Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi the ruler of Ākara-Avanti(Māḷwa), Surāṣṭra and so many others. It is quite probable that Puḷumāvi could retain all those areas at least upto his 19th regnal year. Though it is difficult to accept the attribution of Nahapāṇa's years to the *Śaka* era, it can be assumed that Nahapāṇa and Gautamīputra were contemporaries.

(2) It goes against some other synchronisms viz., those of Çaṣṭana-Puḷumāvi and Rudradāman-Sātakarṇi. The first is known from Ptolemy who records that

24. *EHD, Collected Works*, Vol. III, p.38.
25. *Catalogue*, p.XXVI.
26. *JRAS*, 1917, pp.277-79.

Çaṣṭana was the ruler of Ujjain and Puḷumāvi that of Paiṭhān. The latter synchronism is known from Rudradāman's Girnar inscription of 150 A.D., where, the ruler takes the credit of having defeated one Sātakarṇi twice and liberated him because of his "non-remote" relationship. There has been considerable difference of opinion in identifying this Sātakarṇi with one of the later Sātavāhana rulers. The range is from Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi to Yajña Sātakarṇi. Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi seems to be the probable person.

According to this theory, the dates of rule of Kshaharāṭa Nahapāṇa, later Sātavāhana rulers and their contemporary Kārdamakas would be as follows:

Kṣaharāṭa	Rule A.D.	Sātavāhana	Rule A.D.	Kārdamakas	Rule A.D.
Nahapāṇa	78-124 A.D.	Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi	106-30	Çaṣṭana	89-130
		Vāsiṣṭhīputra-Puḷumāvi	130-58	Rudra-dāman	130-150
		Śivaśrī	158-65		
		Śivaskanda	165-72		
		Yajña Sātakarṇi	172-201		

Sātakarṇi of the Girnar Inscription :

Now, according to this view, the rival of Rudradāman would be Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. But the latter did not bear the name Sātakarṇi. Several identifications have been proposed. Dr. D.C. Sircar is of the opinion that Gautamīputra himself suffered loss of territories between his 18th and 24th years[27]. His view rests on his identification of the Sātakarṇi of Rudradāman's Girnar inscription with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.[28]

27. *Age of Imperial Unity*, pp.202; This is a revival of the theory proposed by Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar in his article "Deccan of the Sātavāhana period", *I.A.*, Vol. XLII, p.154.
28. *Select Inscriptions*, p.172.

(1) It is difficult to believe that the mighty conqueror of the Kshaharāṭa territories had succumbed within a short space of six years to the Kārdamaka rulers and lost considerable areas like Aparānta, Anūpa, Ākara, Avanti and Surāṭha to Rudradāman, under whose control these areas happened to be, according to the Girnar inscription. The question is not whether these areas had gone to Rudradāman by 150 A.D. (the date of the Girnar inscription), but whether Gautamīputra could have been the Sātakarṇi of that time. His own inscription at Nasik in his 24th year and his mother's inscription at Nasik in the 19th year of his son Puḷumāvi's rule go to show that there was no diminution of territory till then.

(2) Making Gautamīputra a contemporary of Rudradāman, comes into conflict with Ptolemy's reference to Çaṣṭana-Puḷumāvi contemporaneity. Ptolemy refers to the rule of Çaṣṭana at Ujjain and of Puḷumāvi at Paiṭhān. This shows, that the Māḷwa region(the Ākara-Avanti region) has slipped off from the Sātavāhana hands during Puḷumāvi's rule, after his 19th regnal year; because the inscriptions of Puḷumāvi do not show any shrinking of the Sātavāhana dominion, and they are like his father's, located at Nasik and Karle. Again, the Nasik *praśasti* which enumerates Gautamīputra's achievements in political and social spheres, styles him as *rājarāño* and gives the title of *Dakṣiṇapathēśvara* to the reigning king Puḷumāvi. So Puḷumāvi who is assigned 28 years of rule in the *Purāṇas*, must have lost the Māḷwa region (Ākara-Avanti) to Çaṣṭana in the last decade of his rule.

(3) Dr. Sircar thinks that though the Girnar inscription is dated in 150 A.D., the achievements recorded in it should have taken place in 130 A.D. when Rudradāman was a conjoint ruler with his grandfather Çaṣṭana, according to the Andhau records dated in the year 52 (130 A.D.).[29] These inscriptions show that Çaṣṭana was a very old ruler as he had a grandson sufficiently aged to be associated with himself in the administration, that he was old, is further confirmed by the discovery of Çaṣṭana's Andhau record of the year 11 (89 A.D.)[30] which shows

29. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp.19-25. Also, See *Ep.Ind.*, XXXVII, pp.139-46 for an inscription of Rudradāman in year 53 (=131 A.D.).
30. *JIH*, XLVIII, pp.253-57.

(1) It is difficult to believe that the mighty conqueror of the Kshaharāṭa territories had succumbed within a short space of six years to the Kārdamaka rulers and lost considerable areas like Aparānta, Anūpa, Ākara, Avanti and Surāṭha to Rudradāman, under whose control these areas happened to be, according to the Girnar inscription. The question is not whether these areas had gone to Rudradāman by 150 A.D. (the date of the Girnar inscription), but whether Gautamīputra could have been the Sātakarṇi of that time. His own inscription at Nasik in his 24th year and his mother's inscription at Nasik in the 19th year of his son Puḷumāvi's rule go to show that there was no diminution of territory till then.

(2) Making Gautamīputra a contemporary of Rudradāman, comes into conflict with Ptolemy's reference to Çaṣṭana-Puḷumāvi contemporaneity. Ptolemy refers to the rule of Çaṣṭana at Ujjain and of Puḷumāvi at Paiṭhān. This shows, that the Māḷwa region(the Ākara-Avanti region) has slipped off from the Sātavāhana hands during Puḷumāvi's rule, after his 19th regnal year; because the inscriptions of Puḷumāvi do not show any shrinking of the Sātavāhana dominion, and they are like his father's, located at Nasik and Karle. Again, the Nasik *praśasti* which enumerates Gautamīputra's achievements in political and social spheres, styles him as *rājarāño* and gives the title of *Dakṣiṇapathēśvara* to the reigning king Puḷumāvi. So Puḷumāvi who is assigned 28 years of rule in the *Purāṇas*, must have lost the Māḷwa region (Ākara-Avanti) to Çaṣṭana in the last decade of his rule.

(3) Dr. Sircar thinks that though the Girnar inscription is dated in 150 A.D., the achievements recorded in it should have taken place in 130 A.D. when Rudradāman was a conjoint ruler with his grandfather Çaṣṭana, according to the Andhau records dated in the year 52 (130 A.D.).[29] These inscriptions show that Çaṣṭana was a very old ruler as he had a grandson sufficiently aged to be associated with himself in the administration, that he was old, is further confirmed by the discovery of Çaṣṭana's Andhau record of the year 11 (89 A.D.)[30] which shows

29. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp.19-25. Also, See *Ep.Ind.*, XXXVII, pp.139-46 for an inscription of Rudradāman in year 53 (=131 A.D.).

30. *JIH*, XLVIII, pp.253-57.

It has been pointed out that the Sātakarṇi of the Girnar inscription could not have been any of the rulers from Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi to Śivaskanda. It is possible that he could be the successor of Śivaskanda namely, Yajña Sātakarṇi. Prior to his accession, the Sātavāhanas lost the Māḷwa region (under Puḷumāvi), Anūpa, Kukūra and Surāṭha. Yajña Sātakarṇi must have lost the Aparānta region as well, which could have occurred after his 16th regnal year, known from his Kanheri inscription. Though his coins are available in Surāṣṭra also, there is no definite indication that it was under his control. Even if it indicates his rule there, Surāṣṭra could have been lost by him after his 16th year. On the basis of the availability of his coinage in Surāṣṭra, he cannot be ragarded as having recovered it. The coins could have been his early issues.

On the basis of the possession of the Aparānta country[33] Haricharan Ghose arrives at the date of the accession of Gautamīputra. According to him, this included the Nasik and Karle regions and North Konkan. It formed part of Nahapāṇa's dominions. Gautamīputra conquered this territory sometime after the year 46 of Nahapāṇa. It continued to be in the hands of the Sātavāhana rulers till Yajña Sātakarṇi. For Ghose, Yajña Sātakarṇi was the same as the Sātakarṇi of the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman. The latest inscription of Yajña Sātakarṇi in the Aparānta country is dated in his 16th regnal year. Sometime later, Rudradāman must have conquered Aparānta, which, according to the Girnar inscription, was a province included in the dominions of Rudradāman. The Girnar inscription was dated in the year 72, which is generally assigned to the *Śaka* era. Then it corresponds to 150 A.D. But Ghose opines that the year refers to the time when the lake was destroyed, but his conquests must have taken place sometime later and the inscription was probably incised in the year 75 (153 A.D.). He has the equation : 16th year of Yajña Sātakarṇi + Y = 153 A.D. or 1st year of Yajña Sātakarṇi = 137 A.D. - Y. There is no reason for post-dating the inscription[34]. It is quite likely that the conquests took place prior to the year 72, mentioned in the inscription. So Ghose's equation may be corrected and stated as follows : 16th regnal year of Yajña Sātakarṇi + Y = 150 A.D.

33. *IHQ.*, 1930, pp.747-56.
34. G. Yazdani (Ed.), *The Early History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p.105; O Ramachandraiya, *JSC* Volume, p.251.

According to Ghose, the value of Y could not have been more than 10. From the time when Gautamīputra conquered the Aparānta country in his 18th year, till the 16th year of Yajña Sātakarṇi, it was a Sātavāhana possession. Ghose cites the *Purāṇic* evidence for the duration of the reigns of the Sātavāhana rulers, with slight changes. Gautamīputra ruled for 24 years and was succeeded by Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi, who held the territory for 22 years, and then by Śivaśrī and Śivaskanda who ruled for 7 years each. He deducts the total years of the rule of these kings viz., 24 + 22 + 7 + 7 = 60 from 137 - Y. In this argument, it is curious why Ghose assigns 22 years only to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, in the face of the *Purāṇic* testimony that he ruled for 28 years. He probably takes into consideration, the Karle inscription of the king dated in his 22nd regnal year. The inscription would only show that, he ruled for at least 22 years. Ghose's interpretation goes against his belief in the *Purāṇas,* for the rule of Śivaśrī and Śivaskanda who did not leave any inscriptions. According to Ghose, they were the rulers of Aparānta. Then the total rule comes to 66 years. If we deduct 66 years from 134 A.D., the date of Gautamīputra's accession falls in *circa* 68 A.D.

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE WESTERN KṢATRAPAS

Kṣaharātas	Rule Period	Sātavāhanas	Rule Period	Kārdamakas	Rule Period
Nahapāṇa	C.35-81 A.D.	Śivasvāti	35-63 A.D.		
		Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi	63-87 A.D.		
		Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi	87-115 A.D.	Çaṣṭana	89-130 A.D.
		Śivaśrī	115-122 A.D.	Jayadāmạn (predeceased Caṣṭana)	
		Śivaskanda	122-129 A.D.		
		Yajña Sātakarṇi	129-158 A.D.	Rudradāman	130-150 A.D.

Conjoint Rule Of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi

Apart from the discussion relating to the Sātakarṇi of the Girnar inscription, the Bhandarkars' postulated theory of conjoint rule between Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. This depends on their assignment of the inscriptions of Nahapana to the *Śaka* era. According to them,[35] Nahapāṇa must have lived upto at least 124 A.D., his defeat must have taken place sometime before 133 A.D., and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi ruled from 133 A.D. - 154 A.D., because, the *Purāṇas* assign him 21 years of rule. R.G. Bhandarkar had to provide for the rule of one Puḷumāvi also before 140 A.D., because Ptolemy speaks of Çaṣṭana-Puḷumāvi contemporaneity. So, he thought that Puḷumāvi was ruling at Paiṭhān during this period, while his father was ruling at Dhanakaṭaka. Thus, he derived support for his theory that the kings were ruling from Dhanakaṭaka, while the princes or heirs-apparent had their headquarters at Paiṭhān. He pointed out that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* was referring to the crowned kings at Dhanakaṭaka, while the other *Purāṇas* were mentioning the names of the princes and members of the collateral branches of the Sātavāhanas also.

The explanation of Bhandarkar regarding the differences in the *Purāṇas* and the use of *Śaka* era in Nahapāṇa's inscription cannot stand now. The date for Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, as given by the scholars, goes against the accepted facts; for, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi or Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi would be the Sātakarṇi of the Girnar inscription, which has been shown to be wrong in the previous section. Dr. R.G.Bhandarkar's belief that Yajña Sātakarṇi was the Sātakarṇi of the. Girnar inscription goes against the date he assigned to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. It is difficult to believe that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajña Sātakarṇi were contemporaries as rulers, the former in Dhanakaṭaka and the latter at Paiṭhān.

The discovery of the Andhau inscriptions dated year 52 (130 A.D.) has led to the non-acceptance of this theory. The inscriptions speak of the names of Çaṣṭana and Rudradāman, which show that both were ruling conjointly. This should be regarded as the last date of Çaṣṭana, because, his son Jayadāman was dead by that time and he was ruling with his grandson. With the availability now of another record at Andhau of Çaṣṭana dated in year 11 (89 A.D.), it is reasonable to conclude that Çaṣṭana could not have ruled after 130 A.D.

35. EHD, *Collected Works*, pp.27-28; I.A., Vol. XLVII, pp.149-56.

The Andhau inscriptions of 130 A.D. do not show, according to D.R. Bhandarkar[36] and R.D. Banerji,[37] the conjoint rule of Çaṣṭana and his grandson Rudradāman, but Rudradāman as a ruler in his own right. The former believes that the term *Pautrasya* should be added after *Ysāmotikaputrasa* and that Rudradāman alone was meant in the inscription. If this were so, Çaṣṭana's rule should have ended even before the Andhau records of 130 A.D. But, by that date Puḷumāvi should have just come to the throne, on the assignment of the inscriptions of Nahapāṇa to the *Śaka* era. This would, according to Bhandarkar, go against Çaṣṭana-Puḷumāvi contemporaneity, on the evidence of Ptolemy. Hence, he believes that Ptolemy's statement would be true, if only Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his son were the conjoint rulers.

It may be noted here that Bhandarkar's faith in the usage of the *Śaka* era in Nahapāṇa's inscriptions was to a large extent responsible for affirming the theory of the conjoint rule. This itself is doubtful. He should have, on the other hand, questioned the usage of the *Śaka* era in Nahapāṇa's inscriptions on the basis of Çaṣṭana-Puḷumāvi contemporaneity. In addition, the Andhau records cannot be assigned to the rule of Rudradāman. The passage in question is as follows:

Rājño Çaṣṭanasa Ysāmotika Putrasa; Rājño Rudradāmasa Jayadāmaputrasa etc. If Rudradāman were the ruler, there would have been specific mention of his descent in a clear-cut manner, as in his Girnar inscription. Here, however, Çaṣṭana was mentioned as the son of 'Ysāmotika' and Rudradāman as the son of Jayadāman, and both Çaṣṭana and Rudradāman were given the royal titles. Prof. R.D. Banerji feels that the people of Cutch did not know the actual relationship between the kings, because of the remoteness of the area. But, the recently discovered Andhau inscription of Çaṣṭana of the year 11 also refers to 'Ysāmotika' as the father of Çaṣṭana. So the people knew the names of Çaṣṭana and his father as early as 89 A.D. The names of Jayadāman and Rudradāman, are, in addition, mentioned in the Andhau inscriptions of the year 52 (130 A.D.). So the people, who knew Ysāmotika-Çaṣṭana relationship and Jayadāman-Rudradāman relationship, cannot be expected to be ignorant of Çaṣṭana-Jayadāman relationship. And if they had still styled them as sons of particular kings, it is quite likely that both of them were sharing the power. If they had borne the Satrapal titles of

36. *JBBRAS*, 1908, pp.66-73. Later he accepted the conjoint rule; see *I.A.*, XLVII, p.154.
37. *JRAS*, 1917 and 1925.

mahākṣātrapa and *kṣātrapa* in the inscriptions, the position each enjoyed would have been clearer. As Kṣātrapas had sometimes assumed the royal titles as in the case of Nahapāṇa in the inscriptions, it is possible that mahākṣātrapa Çaṣṭana and Kṣātrapa Rudradāman were given the same royal titles. The mention of the two names separately should more probably refer to the joint rule of Çaṣṭana and Rudradāman.

The above discussion proves that Çaṣṭana and Rudradāman were conjoint rulers in 130 A.D. As Çaṣṭana was the ruler from 89 A.D., he could not have ruled any longer than 130 A.D. Without recourse to the theory of conjoint rule between Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, it may be stated that Çaṣṭana and Puḷumāvi were contemporaries, because the former was ruling in 130 A.D. according to the Andhau records, and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi should have succeeded his father in the same year, on the basis of Nahapāṇa's years being those of the *Śaka* era. The difficulty, however, of the assignment of Nahapāṇa's insciptions to the *Śaka* era cannot easily be got over.

In addition to the above, both Drs. R.G. Bhandarkar and D.R. Bhandarkar relied upon the inscriptions of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi which, in their view, indicated their conjoint rule. In this context, mention has been made of the Nasik *Praśasti* issued in the 19th year of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, who was styled *Dakṣiṇāpathēśvara.*

The Bhandarkars argue that, at the time of the issue of the inscription, both Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his son must have been reigning for the following reasons:

(i) Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was eulogised in the inscription, while the reigning king was ignored, except in the date portion of the inscription. Such praises would not have been bestowed on a king, who died 19 years earlier.

(ii) Dr. D.R.Bhandarkar supports Sir R.G. Bhandarkar's theory of conjoint rule by pointing to the Nasik inscriptions of the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. According to him Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's inscription of his 24th year refers to a gift by himself and his mother to the monks residing in the cave, which was gifted earlier. He identifies this cave with that which was gifted in the 19th year of

Puḷumāvi. Hence, he feels that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was alive in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi, in a superior capacity and assigns the 24th year of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.

(iii) Bālaśrī was described as the mother of the king and the grandmother of the king, which shows that both her son and grandson were alive at that time. Since every queen would be a mother as well as a grandmother of the kings, it is proper that these epithets indicate both the son and the grandson as alive at that time.

Thus, with the above statements, these scholars felt that in the 19th year of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was alive and ruling as a supreme ruler at Dhanakaṭaka. Their arguments, however, have been refuted by Professors R.D. Banerji[38] and K.A.N. Sastri[39]. Prof. R.D. Banerji refutes this theory of conjoint rule by saying that both the kings were issuing inscriptions on the western side. This would not have been the case, had Gautamīputra been ruling at Dhanakaṭaka. Moreover, except in the inscription of the 19th year of Puḷumāvi, there is no reference to Gautamīputra in his inscriptions. He also states that the 24th year inscription, where Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was mentioned should be assigned to him and not to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, as was done by the Bhandarkars; for, in the inscription dated in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi, only Bālaśrī claims the cave as her gift; while in that of the 24th year, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi calls the gift as his own. So, the latter should refer to his gift dated in 18th year. He regards that the gifts in the inscriptions of the 18th and 24th years belong not to the monks in the bigger cave gifted by Bālaśrī, but to those living in the north-east corner of the same cave. So these two inscriptions dated in the 18th and 24th regnal years should be attributed to the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi only. He would meet the third argument of the Bhandarkars by saying that Gautamī Bālaśrī must have lived so long that she was styled, as mother of a king and grandmother of a king.

Prof. K.A.N. Sastri also considers this theory as baseless. He says that the absence of eulogy of Puḷumāvi in the Nasik inscription cannot lead to the theory of the conjoint rule. According to him, the manner of dating in the Nasik and Karle

38. *JRAS*, 1917, Part I, pp.273-89; 1925, Part II, pp.1-19; "Nahapana and the *Śaka* era".
39. *Ibid.*, 1926, pp.646-65.

inscriptions shows that the Nasik inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's 24th year cannot be assigned to his son. Puḷumāvi, since the record contains the order of the king himself.

It is true that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was praised in the inscription. But, had the inscription been issued when Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his son were joint rulers, it should have added the name of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi to that of his son in the date portion. It is interesting to note that the name of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and his 19th regnal year are referred to, at the beginning of the inscription itself. The absence of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's name in this context shows that he was not the ruler at that time. Moreover, the gift given by Puḷumāvi mentioned in the last line of the inscription is said to be for the merit of his father, who might have been dead.

The epithets *mahārājamāta* and *mahārājapitāmahi* given to Bālaśrī in the Nasik *praśasti*, might indicate that both her son and grandson were ruling. But the names of the two kings do not appear at the place where the regnal years were given. The inscription also styles her as *mahādēvi* just before the other two epithets. If Mahādēvī is taken as *mahārājapatni*, could it be that the father of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was also the ruler at the same time? What is more likely is, she had been the queen, mother of the reigning king and grandmother of another reigning king, at different times.

Though dated in Puḷumāvi's reign, the inscription is a complete eulogy of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. It was issued by Gautamī Bālaśrī, mother of the king and the grandmother of the king, to the 'Bhadrayāniya' sect of Buddhists. Further Puḷumāvi did not claim any share in the achievement of his father, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi described in the Nasik *Praśasti*, nor any of his inscriptions indicate his share in his father's achievement, which he would have had, if he were a conjoint ruler. The two titles, however, do not indicate the conjoint rule between Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.

(II) *Old Śaka Era:*

K.P. Jayaswal takes the years of Nahapāna's inscriptions to be of the old *Śaka* era, which, according to him, began in c. 123 B.C[40]. So, the years 41 and 46 correspond to

40. *JBORS*, XVI, p.250.

82 B.C. and 77 B.C. This assignment of the dates to this era does not fit in with Jayaswal's another view that 58 B.C. witnessed the defeat of Nahapāṇa, which must have been his 46th regnal year. Jayaswal does not comment on this. His identification of Gautamīputra with Vikramāditya of tradition is incorrrect. Ptolemy's reference to the rule of Çaṣṭana and Puḷumāvi in his Geography (which is usually dated to *circa* 150 A.D.) goes against this theory, which assigns Gautamīputra to 1st century B.C.

Dr. M. Ramarao follows Jayaswal, when he takes 54 B.C. as Nahapāṇa's latest date[41]. He says that Gautamīputra defeated one of Nahapāṇa's successors and seeks support for his argument, in the reference to the names of the rulers of Vidīśa in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. The *Purāṇa* mentions the names, Nakhapāna, Dhanadharman, Vaṅgara and Bhūtinaṅda[42] as the rulers of Vidīśa before the end of the Suṅga rule, and Śiśunaṅdi and Naṅdiyaśas as kings who ruled after the Suṅgas. Dr. Ramarao, like Jayaswal, takes Nakhapāṇaja to be Nahapāṇaja, meaning son of Nahapāṇa, who probably succeeded Nahapāṇa. He surmises that all these rulers might be Kṣaharātas, who occupied and ruled over the Vidīśa region after the death of Sātakarṇi II. If their rule lasted for 100-150 years from Nahapāṇa's death in 54 B.C., it comes to C. 100 A.D. This date comes nearer to the 18th regnal year of Gautamīputra, which Dr. Ramarao thinks to be 96 A.D. (Accession of Gautamīputra 78 A.D. + 18 years). This view cannot be accepted; for, but for the identification of Nakhapāṇaja with the son of Nahapāṇa, who is otherwise unknown, and for the assumption that the other rulers at Vidīśa were all Kṣaharāṭas, there is no evidence at all even in the *Purāṇas* to regard them as Kṣaharāṭas.

(III) *Vikrama Era:*

Some other scholars regard the years of Nahapāṇa's inscriptions as of the *Vikrama* era or as falling in the 1st century B.C.

Cunningham, Jouveau Dubreuil, K.A. Nilakantha Sastri, V.S. Bakhle and G. Venkat Rao believe that the years of Nahapana's inscriptions 41 to 46 relate to *Vikrama* era[43]. This would make 12 B.C., as the last date of Nahapāṇa. They advance the argument that the Mathura Satraps used the *Vikrama* era in their inscriptions; and so Nahapāṇa as a Kṣaharāṭa adopted the same.

41. M. Ramarao (Ed.), *Sātavāhana Saṁçika*, p.91.
42. Dr. Ramarao writes Daṇḍadhara for Dhanadharman and Kaṅgara for Vaṅgara.
43. Cunningham, cited in G.Yazdani (Ed.), EHD, I, p.100; Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp.20-21; *JRAS*, 1926, pp.643-65; *JBBRAS*, 1928, p.64; EHD, Vol.I, pp.100-07.

The earlier scholars regarded Hagāna and and Hagāmaṣa as predecessors of Rājula and Śōḍasa. But, owing to the non-mention of their names in the Mathurā lion-capital inscriptions in Prakrit and also because of their use of Sanskrit for the coin-legends, they are believed to have come to power after Śōḍasa[44]. And on palaeographical similarities with Śōḍasa's inscriptions, Nahapāṇa's can be placed in the 1st century A.D. Moreover, the dissimilarities of Nahapāṇa's inscriptions with Gautamīputra's in palaeographical features, do not warrant the presumption that over a century must have intervened between the two.

The palaeographical features of the inscription of Gautamīputra and Vāsiṣṭhīputra-Puḷumāvi show slight development over those of Nahapāṇa. All the inscriptions show serif for the letters. The shape of the letters of Nahapāṇa's inscriptions is very broad and squat, while it was lessened in the inscriptions of Gautamīputra and of his son. In the latter group there is a tendency to reduce the size of the letters. The horizontal stroke in the letter *ka* was given just below the point of serif in Nahapāṇa's inscriptions (†), while for the Sātavāhana inscriptions of this period, it was given at the middle of the vertical lilne (+). The letter *ta* consists of a vertical stroke, which touches the left portion of an arch in Nahapāṇa's inscriptions (h). This letter has a developed form in Gautamīputra's inscription in which the vertical stroke touches the middle point of the arch (ʎ). The vertical line of *na* of Nahapāṇa's inscription is slightly curved to the left, when it joins the base line (⊥). while it is straight in Gautamīputra's inscriptions (⊥). *sa* has a vertical stroke, with a bend to the right in Nahapāṇa's inscription (ںJ), while it has a cursive form in Gautamīputra's inscription (ںJ). *Ha* has a squat form in Nahapāṇa's inscriptions (ں), while in Gautamīputra's inscriptions, it has a bend in the left limb and in the stroke given at the top of the right limb of the letter (ں). Among the medials of the inscriptions, only *i* is noticeable. It was written as (ɔ), in Nahapāṇa's inscriptions and as (Ꙅ) in Gautamīputra's inscriptions. These slight discrepancies in the script show that Nahapāṇa and Gautamīputra should have ruled nearer in time. Moreover, the interval between the inscriptions of Nahapāṇa and those of Çaṣṭana dated in the year 52 (130 A.D.) could not also have been long; for, except for slight differences in the case of *na* (whose base-line bends at the end), and notches in the left limbs of the letters for *pa* and *ha*, there is not much of a change. The letter *ta* was written as in the Nasik inscription of the 19th year of Puḷumāvi.

44. Also see, *IHQ*, XXIV, pp.242-43.

The palaeography of Nahapāṇa's inscriptions can be compared well with the inscriptions of Śōḍasa at Mathurā which can be assigned to the 1st half of 1st century A.D[45]. The broad and squat forms of both sets of inscriptions agree (eg., pa, jha, ha, la, sa). Va and ma have triangular forms in their lower parts. In the Mathura inscriptions of Śōḍasa, there are horizontal and slanting strokes, as the medial signs for ā and e (the latter as in the inscriptions of Kanishka group), while there are horizontal strokes in Nahapāṇa's inscriptions. If this feature shows the Mathurā inscriptions to be later, the absence of elongation of the vertical line of the vowel a and for consonant ka makes it earlier. The medial sign for i in Mathurā inscriptions rarely turns to the left, but slants or goes upward ( ), while it is developed in Nahapāṇa's inscriptions ( ). This comparison makes it possible that Nahapāṇa was not far removed from the time of Śōḍasa.

Again, the scholars who adopt the *Vikrama* era advance the argument that the thunderbolt and arrow type of coins issued by Nahapāṇa, resemble those of the Mathurā Satraps Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa and that the presence of Greek and Kharosthi legends on the coins point to the northern origin.

The champions of the *Vikrama* era theory think that they have corroboration in the Joghaltembhi hoards of Nahapāṇa's coins[46], majority of which, were restruck by Gautamīputra. This indicates Gautamīputra's victory over Nahapāṇa. But, these scholars pin their faith in Rev. Scott's statement that the obverse of these coins shows different facial features of the kings and hence the coins might have belonged to more than one ruler. But, the legend on all the coins has the name of Nahapāṇa alone. In view of the fact that many Kārdamaka rulers, who were otherwise unknown, issued coins, it is quite likely that, if Nahapāṇa was succeeded by any rulers whose rule lasted for a century, at least some of their coins should have been found.

The supporters of this theory do not accept that Nahapāṇa was the ruler at the time of The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea. Prof. G.Venkat Rao interprets the passage to mean that it was Nahapāṇa's kingdom and that there is no indication that he was the ruler at that time. He thinks that the kingdom was ruled by some successor of Nahapāṇa.

45. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, Facsimile facing p.200.
46. *JBBRAS*, 1907, pp.223-44.

He says that the kingdom was named after Nahapāṇa, because, he was the greatest ruler of the dynasty. But we may point out that the author of the *Periplus* is regarded as a merchant who visited some of the places mentioned in the book. His language is also not of a high order. Hence, the distinctions between the references to the names of kings and of their kingdoms may not be of much help.

Even if it is considered that the kingdom was ruled by a successor of Nahapāṇa, his name is not available. The references to Sandares[47] of the Sātavāhana family shows that the *Periplus* mentions the weak Sātavāhana ruler, while it omits the name of his powerful and successful Kṣaharāṭa rival. The *Āvaśyaka-sūtra-niryukti*[48] shows that the kingdom of Nahapāṇa fell a prey to the attacks of a Sātavāhana (Gautamīputra). So the reference cannot be to a successor of Nahapāṇa.

R.D.Banerji[49] and V.A. Smith[50] think that Nahapāṇa and Gautamīputra were not contemporaries. They would assign Gautamīputra to the 1st century A.D. and think that he defeated some successor of Nahapāṇa. The Nasik inscription of Gautamīputra's 18th regnal year, according to them, does not indicate any contemporaneity of Nahapāṇa with Gautamīputra. The passage in the inscription has been read as referring to the land 'which was that of Uṣabhadāta of old'. It would be unconvincing that Gautamīputra deserved the epithet '*Sātavāhanakula Yasapatithāpanākāra* given to him in the Nasik inscription if he had been victorious over a weak and unknown Kṣaharāṭa ruler. These scholars do not explain why Uṣabhadāta's possession of land should be mentioned when he or Nahapāṇa was succeeded by many kings, who ruled for at least a century. The significance of the possession of land would be fully lost, if it were not referring to an event of immediate past.

The date of the *Periplus* is controversial. After a study of the names of rulers of kingdoms mentioned in the work, Schoff pointed out that the work must be dated to 60 A.D[51]. But this has been recently questioned by Madam J. Pirenne who thinks that the

47. Sandares may be a reference to Sundara Sātakarṇi, one of the predecessors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.
48. *JBORS*, XVI, pp.282-83.
49. *IA.*, XXXVII, p.43.
50. *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, p.217.
51. For different dates, see *JBRS*, XLIX, pp.28-33.

work should be assigned to 3rd century A.D[52]. Dr. R.C Majumdar confirms her opinion by showing that the conditions in India described in the work point to that date[53]. He believes that the Pārthian princes who ruled over the deltaic region of the Indus, were rulers in 3rd Century A.D. But there are no such indications at so late a date. Some of the Indo-Pārthian rulers like Gondophernes and Orthagnes ruled in 1st century A.D. The Pārthians, along with the Śakas and the Yavanas are said to have been defeated by Gautamīputra[54]. The *Periplus* mentions that the Pārthians were 'driving each other out' in the territory near the deltaic region of the Indus. This might be a reference to the constant quarrels between the Śakas and Pārthians in 1st century A.D.

That the *Periplus* mentions the name 'Manbanos' or 'Nambanus' has long been accepted. Majumdar too has no strong argument against the reference to the name, for, he says that 'it cannot be regarded, by itself, as a decisive argument against the third century date of the *Periplus*[55]. He says that names 'Manbanos' and Nahapāṇa have only 'Na' in common and that, therefore, the identity is doubtful.

But, it may be asserted that it was a reference to Nahapāṇa, who is known from his inscriptions and coins. (1) The *Periplus* mentions that he was the lord of Barygaza, Ujjain, Sopara, Minnagara, Tagara etc. The control of Nahapāṇa over these areas is known from his son-in-law Uṣavadāta's, inscriptions which record his gifts at Dāsapura (in western Malwa), Śorpāraga (Sopara), and Bhārukaccha (Broach or Barygaza). (2) The *Periplus* also says that Nahapāṇa diverted the trade that was carried on by the Sātavāhana to his own market-places. It mentions that Kalyāṇ was an important port at the time of elder Saraganus (one of the early Sātakarṇis), but lost its importance when it was ruled by Sandares (probably Sundara Sātakarṇi). The ships bound for Kalyāṇ were diverted to Barygaza.

Dr. Majumdar identifies the elder Saraganus with Yajña Sātakarṇi and Sandares with Caṇḍaśrī Sātakarṇi. But this identity is vitiated by two facts : (a) The port of Kalyāṇ was held by Sandares. This seems to be inexplicable in the case of Caṇḍaśrī because none of the successors of Yajña Sātakarṇi held the western dominions. Yajña Sātakarṇi himself probably lost them after his 16th regnal year, the latest year in his

52. *JA*., 1961,pp.441-59.
53. *IHQ*., September, 1962, pp.89-97; Contra, JBRS, XLIV, pp.28-33.
54. *Epy. Ind*., VIII, Nasik, No.2
55. *IHQ*., 1962, [illegible]

inscriptions, found in the west. By this time the western territories were held by Rudradāman, and his successors inherited them. So, it is more probable that this must have taken place in the reign of Suṅdara Sātakarṇi, one of the predecessors of Gautamīputra , who ruled in the 1st century A.D. (b) If the name of a weak Sātavāhana ruler was found, it would be unfortunate if the *Periplus* ignored or misspelt the name of his powerful adversary, Nahapāṇa.

Another argument of Dr. Majumdar for the 3rd century date of the *Periplus* is that it mentions the kingdom of Abiria. According to him, Abiria was named after the Ābhīras, who became prominent in 3rd century A.D. He remarks, 'An independent Ābhīra ruler fighting with the Sātakarṇis of the Deccan is more in consonance with the political history of this region in the first half of the third century A.D. than in any other period, so far at least as our present knowledge goes'[56]. He continues, "Incidentally, this may be regarded as an indication that the *Periplus* refers to a period later than Ptolemy, the emergence of an independent Abiria occuring during the interval between the two"[57].

It may be stated that this argument of Dr. Majumdar is erroneous. Ptolemy certainly mentions Abiria in Indo-Scythia[58]. So the faith in the emergence of the kingdom between the period of Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus* falls to the ground. Even if it could be named after the Ābhīras, it should be prior to c.150 A.D., the date generally assigned to Ptolemy. Epigraphic evidence, however, gives a lie to this theory. Inscriptions of the Ābhīras begin from 180 A.D. only, where, a general Ābhīra Rudrabhūti was mentioned[59]. There is no inscription of an independent Ābhīra ruler prior to Īśvaradatta, who is assigned to 3rd century A.D. by Rapson[60]. If they were powerful in the middle of the 2nd century A.D., they would have been defeated by Rudradāman. If Ptolemy's Abiria were Ābhīra, Rudradāman's Girnar inscription would have mentioned it as a province over which he was the lord. So, the equation of Abiria of *Periplus* and Ptolemy with Ābhīra is highly doubtful. It could be a variant or a corruption of Svābhra mentioned in the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman as one of the areas ruled by him. It is located on the river Sabarmati.

56. *IHQ.*, 1962, p.95.
57. *Ibid.*
58. R.C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts* of India, p.372.
59. Gunda Inscription of Rudrasimha (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p.235)
60. *Catalogue*, p.XLIV.

Dr. Majumdar opines that the *Periplus* should be dated later than Ptolemy's work, because of Ptolemy's distortion of the configuration of India, while that of the *Periplus* was accurate. This might be contradicted by stating that Ptolemy was a geographer who wrote his book, stationing himself at Alexandria. The author of the *Periplus*, however, was a merchant, who travelled the area and wrote the account. Moreover, Ptolemy gives a better account of the Golden Chryse than the author of the *Periplus*.

It may also be pointed out that Madam Pirenne places Nahapāṇa in 3rd century A.D[61] which is impossible. She identifies the Puḷumāvi of Ptolemy with the first of the kings to bear that name in the *Purāṇic* list (15th ruler) and places him in 130 A.D. These dates take the rule of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi to the first quarter of 4th century A.D. which is not vouched by other data.

The *Periplus* can, therefore, be dated to the first century A.D., and Schoffs assignment of the work to 60 A.D. seems to be acceptable.

The above discussion reveals that Nahapāṇa cannot be assigned to either 1st century B.C. or 2nd century A.D. So a date in 1st century A.D. has been proposed by A.S.Altekar[62] and K. Gopalachari[63]. They think that the years in Nahapāṇa's inscriptions should be regnal years. The Jain Paṭṭavalis assign to him 42 years of rule; and *Periplus* mentions him as a great ruler. He could be regarded as the contemporary ruler at the time of the composition of the *Periplus* by which time he must have established his fame during about 20 or 25 years of rule. It is certain that he ruled for a considerably long period and lost his kingdom to Gautamīputra, shortly after his 46th regnal year[64].

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61. *JA.*, 1961, p.456
62. *IHC.*, 15th Session, pp.35-42; Cf.V.R. Deoras, "New ligt of the date, of Nahapāṇa" (*Ibid.*, 4th Session, pp.147-53). 'Kuśaṇamūla' occuring in the Nasik inscription of Nahapāṇa is taken to mean 'the money of the Kuṣāṇas'. (Cf.D.R. Bhandarkar in *I.A.*, XLVII, p.76). But this could be better interpreted as 'money of outside life' as translated by M.Senart. This term occurs late in 5th-6th century A.D. as *Kuśalamūla* in the Indrapālanagara plates of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Gōvindavarman: Dīpadhūpa-gandha-puṣpa-dhvaja-pāna-bhōjana Sayanāsana-grāsa-bhaiṣajya-khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-sīma-saṁskārādi-kuśala mūlānupacchedārthaṁ (*JIH.*, XLIII, p.740). Dr. O. Ramachandraiya regards Nahapāṇa's years as indication of Kṣaharāṭa rule in Surāṣṭra, beginning from circa 17 A.D., when the Mathurā satrap Rājula died. This takeNahapāṇa's late date to 63 A.D. (17 A.D. + 46 years).
63. *EHAC.*, p.58
64. The recent opinion expressed by Prof. Mirashi (*JIH*, XLIII. p.118) that 'a long reign of 46 years is rather unusual if not impossible' cannot be axiomatic. It is at variance with the 56 years of rule assigned by the Purāṇas to an Andhra ruler Sātakarṇi II. Some instances may be cited. though later in date, where certain kings ruled for roughly half-a century. Kulotunga Chōla of Tanjore ruled from 1070 to 1118-1120 A.D. and Western Çalukya Vikramāditya VI from 1076 to 1126 A.D.

Conclusion

We have discussed above the date of the foundation of the Sātavāhana rule from different angles. The *Purāṇas* indicate that the dynasty began to rule in 28 B.C. from the association of its founder with the last of the Kāṇvas, but the period of rule was discrepant. The attempts of scholars to reduce the total period of rule from 456 years to about 272 years have not succeeded. Therefore, arbitrarily, they ignore the reigns of kings whose rule is not attested by any other evidence.

The early epigraphic and numismatic material goes to show that the dynasty rose to power only in 1st century B.C. Of course, palaeographical evidence is bound to be tentative. But the appearance of legends on Sātavāhana coins is a clear indication of a late date for the Sātavāhana rule.

The Kshātrapa inscriptions and coins, once considered as decisive by Rapson and Bhandarkar, have posed more problems than they solved. The discovery of the Andhau inscriptions of years 11 and 52 has questioned the attribution of the inscriptions of Nahapāṇa to the *Śaka* era. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's date can be fixed tentatively between 60-80 A.D.

I have my preference for 4 - Century rule of the Sātavāhanas, which cannot be easily contradicted. Even if I take 28 B.C. as the date of the foundation of the Sātavāhana power, in view of the epigraphic and numismatic information, I am unable to adjust the rule of the important Sātavāhana rulers before Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who should have ruled between 60 and 80 A.D.

The following would be the minimum rule to be provided to rulers:-

Simuka	23 years	28 B.C. - 5 B.C.
Kṛṣṇa	18 years	5 B.C. - 13 A.D.
Sātakarṇi	56 years	13 A.D. - 69 A.D.
Āpīlava	12 years	69 A.D - 81 A.D.
Hāla	1 year	81 A.D. - 82 A.D.
Sundara Sātakarṇi	1 year	82 A.D. - 83 A.D.
Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi	24 years	83 A.D. - 107 A.D.

If this cannot be considered, the other way would be to accept the *Śaka* dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāṇa with all concomitant difficulties and assign Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi to 106 A.D. - 130 A.D. as was held by Rapson. The other way out is to accept the 4-century rule and place the foundation of the Sātavāhana power in 3rd century B.C.

In the above pages, I have shown various difficulties that confront scholars with regard to the chronology of the Sātavāhanas, which still belies any solution. Scholars have still to work out the palaeography of Indian inscriptions from the post-Mauryan period to the pre-Gupta period. Though palaeographical deductions are tentative, an attempt must be made to sift and analyze the material for chronological purposes.

URBANISATION IN EARLY ANDHRA

- N.R.V. PRASAD

Urbanisation in early Andhra has been dealt by scholars like Yazdani[1], R. Subrahmanyam[2], Krishna Sastry[3], and H. Sarkar[4] basing on the results of the excavations conducted at a good number of sites in Andhra Pradesh. From 1973 onwards, a new trend has emerged in the understanding of urbanisation from Marxist methodological framework, thereby the process that led to Urbanisation, the causative factors, the salient features of Urban centres as seen in the works initiated and carried out by Amita Ray[5], R.S. Sharma[6], and Aloka Parasher[7]. The works of the first group of scholars furnish information only on the sites and buildings they have excavated, whereas a change is observed in the works of the later scholars, wherein, theoretical issues of Urbanisation such as the society, economy, state and ideologies formed the main basis for their discussions, besides interpretation of the archaeological data available. These scholars seem to have been influenced by the researches carried out by Thakur[8], and Ghosh[9] in India as a whole. Among the works mentioned above, the researches carried out by Aloka Parasher[10] opened a new dimension in understanding the scope of urbanisation, with special reference to Āndhra Dēśa, in Deccan.

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1. G. Yazdani 'Excavation at Kondapur an Andhra Town' (200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) *ABORU* Vol. XXII, 1941, pp. 171-185.
2. R. Subrahmanyam, 'Secular Remains at Nagarjunakonda' *JAHRS*, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. 4.1987 pp.1-40.
3. V.V. Krishna Sastry, "*The Proto and Early Historical Cultures of Andhra Pradesh'*, Hyderabad, 1983, pp. 119 to 147, and a separate section on urbanisation *ibid* pp. 209-214, also see M.K. Dhawalikar's remarks on the work embodied in the preface to the above work ibid XIV.
4. H. Sarkar, Growth of cities in Andhradesa' (200 B.C. to A.D. 300), Presidential Address of Urban centres in Early Historical Andhradesa in B.M. Pande and B.D. Chattopadhyaya (Eds.): *History and Archaeology*, Delhi, 1987, pp. 631-641.
5. Amita Ray, Life and Art in Early Andhradesa', Delhi, 1983; and also see her another article 'Beginnings of Urbanisation in Early Andhra desa, in J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga (Eds.) *Studies in Urban History, Amritsar*, 1987, pp. 40-41.
6. R.S. Sharma, '*Urban Decay in India'* Delhi, 1987 (see chapter 5)-Urban Growth and Decay in the South, pp. 85-107.
7. Aloka Parasher, 'Social Structure and Economy of Settlements in the Central Deccan (200 B.C- A.D. 200) in Indu Banga (Ed) 'The city in Indian History', New Delhi, 1990, and also see Aloka Parasher (Ed.) '*Social and Economic History of Early Deccan'*, Delhi, 1993, pp. 64-114.
8. V.V. Thakur, 'Urbanisation in Ancient India', Delhi, 1981.
9. A.Ghosh, *'A city in Early Historical India'*, Delhi, 1981.
10. Aloka Parasher, *Op. Cit*, 1993, pp. 66-114.

The credit of making a poineering effort on urbanisation in Tamil-nadu goes to Prof. Champakalaxmi[11] who suggested two phases of urbanisation in Tamil-nadu and ably propounded her, theories in this regard.

Before proceeding to discuss on the Urbanisation of Early Andhra Desa, it is necessary to deal with the society and economy of the protohistoric period in Andhra, which provide the basic substratum for the emergence and rapid growth of urbanisation in early historic context.

The process of State formation in early Andhra was understood by scholars like Sudarshan Seneviratne[12], as a rapid progress from a ranked society to a stratified one, with the consolidation of the ruling power, through their direct access to the surplus production and its distribution. The knowledge in metallurgy and other technological advancements achieved in the last stage of protohistoric phase in Andhra paved the way for the manufacture of metal objects and tools of various sizes and shapes, on a large scale. The agricultural surplus as well as technological developments gave impetus to the rise of urban centres in the early historic period which resulted in the growth of systematic town planning[13]. Many early historical settlements were not very different from village settlements in the beginning, but later, they got transformed into towns. Some of them were significantly located along the banks of the major rivers or rivulets which provided alluvial tracts in the vicinity. This led to an increase in agricultural surplus and financial stability of the proliferation of crafts and technological skills.

The period from 3rd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. is important for the study of the process that led to the transformation of tribal chiefdom in to the formation of early state in Āndhradēśa. The Mauryan political authority co-existed with the small independent chieftains in different areas in Andhra. The discovery of some coins issued

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11. R. Champakalakshmi, 'Urban Process in Early Medieval Tamil Nadu', occasional papers series: 3, Urban History Association of India, Amritsar, 1982, pp. 1-22, also see her articles Urbanisation in South India : The Role of Ideology and Polity', Presidential Address, PIHS, 47th session, Srinagar, 1986, and 'Urbanisation in Medieval Tamil Nadu' in S. Bhattacharya & Romila Thaper (Eds.) '*Situating Indian History*' Delhi, 1986, pp. 34-76.
12. Sudarshan Seneviratne, 'Kalinga and Andhra, The Process of secondary state formating *JHR* Vol. VII, Nos, 1-2, 1980-81, p. 54.
13. H. Sarkar, *Op. Cit.* 1987, p.63.

by the kings named Gōbhada, Samagōpa, Kamvāya or Nārana from Karimnagar region attest to the pre-Sātavāhana rule[14]. The Sātavāhanas who established their control first over the western Deccan have gradually spread their hegemony to Krishna-Godavari valley[15] as testified by their inscriptions and coins. The Sātavāhana phase is considered as a hall mark in the urban state-craft witnessed by thirty fortified towns and the spread of Buddhism and extensive *Saṅghārāmas* at various centres. The Buddhist *Saṅghārāmas* were patronised with all the necessary adjuncts of a most civilized and urbanised community, who thrived there for a religious cause. In spacial organisation, the *stūpas, chaityas, vihāras*, congregation halls, refectories and others were connected by well knit pathways and drainage system. By the 3rd century A.D., the fall of the Sātavāhanas from political power resulted in the dismemberment of the empire into a number of smaller principalities occupied by independent chiefs. Among them the Ikshvākus who excercised their authority over the fertile area in the Krishna valley with Vijayapuri as their capital, continued their suzerainty not very much different from those of the Sātavāhanas.

The other early historic settlements such as Kotilingala, Dharanikota, Satanikota, Veerapuram, Nagarjunakonda, and Ramireddypalle are located close to major rivers, whereas the sites like Dhulikatta, Peddabankur, Kondapur, Phanigiri, Gazulabanda, Tirmalagiri and Nelakondapalli are situated in the interior, on small rivulets. However, the latter survived for a longer duration, probably due to the fact that they were on important trade routes with the inter and intra developed areas of the region as a whole. The method of town planning[16] observed at Dharanikota, Kotilingala, Satanikota, and Nagarjunakonda was meant for a well organised maritime trade. Simultaneously, the Buddhist ideology provided impetus for the growth of highly developed urbanised settlements, indicating better socio-economic conditions of the early historic period in Andhra. In this connection Max Weber[17] argued that "Buddhism presents itself as a

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14. P.V.P. Sastry 'Political system in Early Coastal Andhra' in D. Handa (Ed.), *Ajaya Sri : Prop. A.M. Sastry Felicitation Volume I, Delhi, 1989, pp. 71-74.*
15. *Aloka Parasher, Op. Cit. 1991, p. 54.*
16. H. Sarkar, Op. Cit. 1986, pp. 1-3.
17. Max Weber, *The Religion of India, glance,* 1958, p. 204.

product of the time of urban development or urban kingship and the city nobels". Proliferation of the Buddhist monastic establishment and the urban centres is a very important feature of this period. The Buddhist establishment located at Amaravati, Bhattiprolu, Chandavaram, Dhulikatta and Nandaluru attest to this. Recent excavations conducted at Bavikonda[17] and Thotlakonda[18] revealed that these Buddhist centres were provided with well-laid out pathways, secular, religious and public utility structures, denoting urban character.

The occurrence of quite a number of Roman coins associated with indigenous coinage at Amaravati, Peddabankur, Dhulikatta, Ghantasala, Veerapuram, Bavikonda and Thotlakonda, is a clear testimony of maritime contacts of these urban centres with the western countries during the early historic period. The settlements were well connected by roads and trade routes. At Dharanikota, we have the evidence of an inland port, where a wharf connected by navigational channel into the river Krishna datable between 400 and 100 B.C. which proves the brisk trade activity in early Āndhra Dēśa[20].

According to Amita Ray[21], improved communication routes, mining operations, money economy, establishment of provincial seats of administration, introduction of Buddhism, all these together must have created a social situation which could provide a good base for the growth of urban centres in Āndhra Dēśa. These early historic settlements comprised of well laid out house plans, which included common dwellings, building complexes surrounded by enclosures, water supply and sanitary workshops and roads, besides public utility structures such as congregation halls, amphitheatre, rest houses and public baths[22].

The walls of the house of the early urban centres were either of wattle and daub mud, brick or stone. The roofs were thatched, brick and stone paved or tiled. The floors were either made of rammed earth, lime plastered, lime concreted or paved with brick

18. N.R.V. Prasad, *'Bavikonda - A Buddhist Settlement in Coastal Andhra'*, Hyderabad, 1994.
19. V.V. Krishna Sastry, et. al, Thotlakonda - A Buddhist site in North Coastal Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1992.
20 H. Sarkar, *Op. Cit.* 1987, pp. 631-641.
21. Amita Ray, *Op. Cit, 1987*, pp. 40-41.
22. R. Subrahmanyam, *Op. Cit.* 1983, p. 1-20.

and shale. Water was drawn from wells sunk into the ground. Storage tanks and brick cisterns were also built within the houses. Waste water was taken away by drains both covered and open. To provide smooth pathways for walking and easy transport, a good number of roads intersecting one another and connecting the entire settlement were laid. All these features which are urban in nature and well laid out town planning have been observed particularly at Dhulikatta, Peddabankur, Kotilingala[23] and Nagarjunakonda[24]. Workshops have been reported from Dhulikatta, Kondapur and Nagarjunakonda. The habitation areas had enclosure walls.

Roads became an important aspect of transport during the period, as reported from Dhulikatta, Satanikota or Nagarjunakonda. The royal palaces were usually multistoreyed with flat-roofs having balconies, windows, stair cases, doorways and enclosure walls. The forts both earthen and brick, to defend the seats of authority, have also been reported from Kotilingala, Dhulikatta, Satanikota, Dharanikota and Nagarjunakonda. Thus, the evidences from the aforesaid centres and towns of early Andhra fulfil the criteria of Morgan[25] and Childe[26] regarding the first civilization as urbanised and we also see that these early urban centres are characterised by social surplus, craft specialists, ruling class, writting, buildings, trade contacts and political organisations known as State.

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JAINA DATA ON THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

- **Dr. S.B. Deo**

Of the several dyansties that ruled the Deccan, the Sātavāhanas occupy a unique place. In a sense, they are the first indigenous emperors of the Deccan. They patronised Prakrit language of the region, evolved a system of administration and are supposed to have brought political peace and cultural harmony. They stubbornly repelled the inroads of the foreigners like the Śakas and the Kshātrapas and strengthened the defences by building thirty fortified towns. Inspite of their local origin and patronization of local culture, they seem to have helped the growth of foreign trade, to which the Roman antiquities found in the Deccan stand testimony.

Inspite of this signal contribution, most of the aspects connected with the Sātavāhana rule and the dynasty, are problematic, and inspite of a large amount of archaeological data having been made available during the last two decades, the problems stand where they were. The origin of the dynasty, the original habitat, the name, the chronology, the succession, the actual extent of the empire, their religious affinities, their administrative set-up and the designations and names of different officials manning the administration, are all yet unresloved.

If the archaeological data is rather inadequate, the literary data, at least that available in the Jaina literature, throws some light on some of the aspects mentioned above. It must however, be made clear at the outset that this category of data can by no means be taken to be very precise, nor can it be dated conclusively. But this has been the problem in the case of several canonical and non-canonical texts of the Jainas. The data discussed below comes principally from the Curnis and the Bhashyas of the Jains. However, it may not be incorrect to presume that they embody earlier traditions which might contain some core of truth, which may help in adding to our knowledge of the Satavahanas.

Regarding the origin of the Sātavāhanas, the *Pratiṣṭhānapurakalpa* of Jainaprabhasūri, states that the king Sātavāhana was born out of the union of a Brāhmin virgin or widow and Śeṣa, the king of the Nāgas. When the lady had gone to the bank of the river Gōdāvarī at Pratishṭhāna for fetching water, the king of the Nāgas seduced her[1].

1. Joglekar, S.A. (Ed.), *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, Intr. p.328.

This legend had widespread circulation and is found to be current even in Nepal, where the term Sātavāhana is used, to designate an illegitimate child. The same text[2] further states that Sātavāhana, born out of this union, grew up in the settlement of the potters, where, he used to fashion elephants and horses in clay for his playmates. Because of this, the boy got the name Sātavāhana. It is difficult to ascertain the truth of this story, but it certainly states that the Sātavāhanas did not have a very dignified origin. The very names of the kings of the dynasty cannot be properly explained, as for instance, Simuka, Sātakarṇi, Puḷumāyi which do not fit in with the general trend of personal names of the Brāhmins of the times, though some of the kings performed diffrerent *Yajñas*, paid obeisance to Brahmanical deities as in Naneghat record[3] and took the title of *'Ēkabrāhmaṇa'*. This seems to have been an attempt on the part of the *Sātavāhanas* to gain for themselves a higher and respectable social status.

Regarding the military exploits of the *Sātavāhanas*, there is interesting data in the *Bṛihatkalpasūtra* and its *Bhāṣya*. For instance, it is stated that the king Sālivāhana used to attack every year the city of Bharukachchha (modern Broach) where king Naravāhana ruled[4]. But Sālivāhana had to return to his capital when the rains set in. This information is also repeated in the *Prabandhaçintāmaṇi* of Mērutuṅga[5]. The conflict between the Sātavāhanas and the Kshātrapas is well-known to the historians, but the Jaina sources point out that the Satavahana king could never succeed in capturing Broach.

The annual attacks on Broach by Sālivāhana have also been referred to in two other texts, viz *Āvaśyakaçūrṇi*[6] and the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*[7]. But they provide us further information. It is stated that king Naravāhana started the practice of giving rewards to such soldiers who would bring the cut hands of the soldiers of the Sātavāhana army. The text further states that Narvāhana was affluent in treasures, but the Sātavāhana had a strong army. However, the fact that, the soldiers of Narvāhana, who were promised of prizes and rewards for acts of bravery, seriously affected the morale of the Sātavāhana army, and hence he could not succeed in capturing Broach.

2. *Ibid*, , p.326.
3. Gokhale, S.L., *Purābhilēkhavidya*, p.111.
4. *BKS*, I, p.52.
5. Vol.I., p.17.
6. Bṛihatkalpasūtra Vol.II, p.200.
7. Verse 1299.

However, these two texts add that finally the king Sātavāhana did succeed in capturing the city by deceit. King Sātavāhana conspired with his own minister. Under some false pretext, the king banished the minister and the latter took refuge in the court of king Narvāhana and in due course he rose to the status of a minister. The latter, after having noted clandestinely the weakness in the defence of the city, sent a message surreptitiously to Sātavāhaṇa, enabling him ultimately to capture the city of Bharukachchha. However, it may be pointed out that, there is no other evidence to support this incident.

The invasion and conquest of Malwa by the Satavahanas is referred to in the *Kālakāchāryakathānika*. The sister of Kālakāchārya, Saraswati, who had become a nun, was kidnapped forcibly by Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjain. The text also refers to the king by another name as Gandharvasēna. The Jaina pontiff invited the Śakas who invaded Ujjayini, and thus contributed to the release of Saraswati. But the Śakas who came to stay, would not leave Ujjayini and they harassed the people. Therefore, Kālaka sought refuge at the Sātavāhana capital Pratiṣṭhāna, subsequently Sātakarṇi invaded Māḷwa and defeated the Śakas. This is very well attested by the title *'Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava-nishūdana'* referred to in the Nasik record[8] of Vāsishṭhīputra.

The Jaina literature also provides further interesting data regarding the conquest of two Mathuras by king Sātavāhana. The *Bṛihatkalpasūtrabhāṣya*[9] has two verses which explain the term *unmatta* in relation to the story of king Sālivāhana. It says that the king ordered his daṇḍanāyaka to capture the city of Mathurā. Since the order could not be challanged, the commander set out to capture. However, he was in doubt as to which of the two Mathuras-Mathurā in the north (Uttar Mathurā) or that in the south, was ordered to be captured. But the commander dared not go back to the king to ask for clarifications for the order and hence he cpatured both the Mathuras, i.e., the northern Mathurā and the southern Mathurā and reported these victories to the king . At the same time, two other items of good news were reported to the king. These were the birth of a son to the chief- queen and the find of a huge treasure in the kingdom. This sudden shower of good news practically disturbed the tranquility of the king and he started kicking the walls and hitting the pillars. The commentary further adds that in

8. *Gokhale*, Op. Cit., p.141.
9. Vs. 6244-45.

this joyous crazy, the king kicked his own minister, who was, therefore, kept in hiding, by other faithful servants, and produced before the king, when the latter calmed down and expressed remorse. The name of the minister is not mentioned here, but it is mentioned as Kharaga, by other Jaina sources[10]. This is the only reference available regarding the name of any minister of the Satavahanas.

The king was overjoyed, lost control over himself and uttered the following verses out of sheer boast.

Saççaṁ bhaṇa Gōdāvarī, puvvasamuddeṇa sāviyā saṁtī /
Sātahāṇakulasārisaṁ, jati tē kulē kulaṁ atthi //
Uttaratō himavaṁtō dāhiṇatō sālivāhaṇo rāyā/
Samabhārabharakkaṁtā, tēna na palhatthayē puhvī //

The English translation of these two verses briefly would be: O! Gōdāvarī, given an oath by the eastern ocean, tell the truth and say whether there is any other dynasty like that of the Sātahāṇa (i.e., Sātavāhana) on your banks. Tell further, whether this is not a truth that the earth has been able to maintain her equilibrium because of equal weight at the north in the form of the Himālayas and at the south in the form of king Sālivāhana.

A couple of interesting aspects emerge from these verses. First is that the Sātavāhanas are essentially linked up with the region of the banks of river Godavari. The reference especially to the eastern ocean is also significant. The third aspect is that the verse refers to the Sātahāna Kula and that the name of the king is Sālivāhana. These are interesting factors which are connected with the region under the rule of the dynasty, the name of the dynasty and the name of the king.

The *Bṛihatkalpasūtrabhāṣya*[11] and the *Vāsudēvahiṁḍi*[12] state that the city of Paiṭṭhāna, situated on the bank of the river Godavari was the chief city of Maharastra, which was also known as Poyaṇapura. It was a renowned centre of the Jains, though it must be admitted that no archaeological evidence in support of this is yet available.

10. *Prabaṅdhaciṅtāmaṇi* Vo. I, p.17.
11. Ibid., Vol. VI, V. 6244.
12. P.354.

The *Kalpasūtra*[13] also mentions it as a great centre of learning. Great Jaina pontiffs like Bhadrabāhu, Kālakāchārya and Pādaliptasūri were associated with this city. Some of them played important roles in the history of the Jaina church. For instance, it is stated that Kālakāchārya was responsible in changing the day for *pajjosaṇā* from *pañçami* to *çaturthi*.

It is thus clear that the Jaina literature provides useful and interesting data on the Sātavāhanas.

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Observations on the chronology of
SOME EARLY ROCK-CUT CHAITYA CAVES
of Western India

-Dr. M.N. Deshpande

As early as 1967, I had suggested the chronology order[1] of the principal *Chaitya-gṛihas* in Western India as follows :

1) *Bhāja*, 2) *Ajanta Cave No.10*, 3) *Pitalkhōra Cave No.3*,
4) *Koṇḍāne*, 5) *Ajanta Cave No.9*, 6) *Nāsik*,
7) *Beḍsa*, 8) *Kārle, and* 9) *Kanhēri Cave No.3*.

In this chronology, I had left out the *Chaitya* caves from Aurangabad, Koṇḍivāṭe, Thanala and Junnar. Further, a few smaller *Chaitya-gṛihas* at Karhad, Chiplun and Powale (near Kolhapur) were also left out of consideration.

In the recent past Dr. Nagaraju[2] has suggested the following chronology in respect of architecturally more important *Chaitya-gṛihas*.

1) Kanhēri, 2 c, 2) Tulja lēna, 3) Bhāja (12), 4) Pitalkhōra Cave No.3, 5) Koṇḍane, 6) Ajanta Cave No.9, 7) Aurangabad, 8) Junnar (Manmodi) Cave No.40, 9) Junnar (Ganesh Pahad) Cave No.34, 10) Nāsik Cave No.18, 11) Beḍsa, 12) Kārle, 13) Kanhēri Cave No.3, 14) Junnar (Ganesh Pahad) Cave No.6, 15) Junnar (*chaitya-gṛiha-II* on Manmodi Hill), and so on.

It is not my intention, in this presentation, to enter into detailed discussion about the entire chronology or the dating of the *Chaitya-gṛihas*. I only intend to pinpoint the position of the *chaitya-gṛihas* at Thanāla and Koṇḍivāṭe in this chronological framework on the basis of new architectural and inscriptional evidence that has come to light, as a result of my recent work at these cave centres.

Let us begin with Thaṇāla caves, which are situated about 17 kms., north-west of Pali (Sudhagad) in district Raygad (till recently known as Kolaba). These caves were

1. Ghosh, A.Ed.: *Ajanta Murals*, 1969, p.18,
2. Nagaraju, S. *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, 1981, p.312-17.

taken under the protection of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1954. This cave-group was first brought to light by Cousens in 1891, of which he gave an account in a small memorandum called "The Caves at Nadsur and Khadsamla" but it remained rather unknown and has not been adequately studied, save a reference to the two inscriptions contained therein in the List of Brāhmi inscription by Lüders (Epigraphia Indica Vol. X). Vidya Daheja[3] and some other scholars have also discussed the sculptures from cave No. 7 and have given varying dates for the *Chaityagṛiha* and the *Vihāras*.

Before we proceed further, it is necessary to explain why its original name (Nadsur Caves) was changed to Thanāla Caves. Evidently the consideration was the fact that the caves lie in the village limits of Thanāla. But there is a very significant consideration in calling the group as Thanāla group. Last year, in the course of the Coomaraswamy Memorial Lectures delivered at the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, I had pointed out that the mountain in the cliffside, of which, the cave group is excavated, finds a mention in the inscription[4] of Vāsisṭhīputra Puḷumāvi engraved in cave No.3 of Pandulena, near Nasik. While describing the conquests of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, a mention is made of the mountains : *Vijjha, Chhavata, Parichata, Sahya, Kaṅhagiri, Macha (Mañcha), Siritana, Malaya, Mahēndra* etc. Of these '*macha*' and '*siritana*' are not satisfactorily explained by the scholars. I have identified '*macha*' with the hill fortress Rājamachi, on the western scarp, in which the early Buddhist caves of Kondane are situated and from where the Bhor ghat leads further to Karla and Bhaja caves, near Lonāvāla. Siritana (Śrīsṭhāna) has been identified by me, with Thanāla. The mountain derived this name from the four sculptures of Śrī or Lakshmi carved in this cave-group, two each in cave No.7 and 15. The village Thanala is thus the place (*sthāna*) where the goddess Śrī was worshiped. Even now the village contains a shrine dedicated to the goddess.

This cave-group contains in all 23 caves of which No.3 is a memorial *stūpa* cave (like the one at Bhaja), while No.7 is the principal and the largest *vihāra* cave, adjoining the *chaitya* cave (No.8). My study of the memorial *stūpa* cave revealed that the cave originally was a small one, containing a rock-cut *stūpa* and a cell for the monk at its

3. Daheja, Vidya; *Early Buddhist Rock Temples*, 1972.
4. I had the benefit of discussing this point with Dr. Jamkhedkar. In fact this suggestion first came from him.

back. This cave, however, was enlarged from time to time, at least four times, to accommodate six monolithic *stūpas* and two additional ones in the niches, carved out in the wall. The progressive extension of the cave, first on the southern side to add one *stūpa*, then on its northern side to add two *stūpas* on a slightly raised platform, still later on the rear to accommodate two *stūpas* and finally the process ended with the excavation of two niches to accommodate miniature *stūpas* is clearly noticeable. The structural *stūpas*, built within the available space between monolithic *stūpas*, may have come up at a still later stage. The four-phased enlargement of the cave is established on the basis of clues left on the floors, walls and ceilings, corroborated by the development in the form of *stūpa*, from the simple unornamented one without the *vēdika* band and the stone *hármika,* to those progressively having *vēdika* decoration on the drum, and the development in the shape of the *aṇḍa* and the *hármika*. What is, however, very interesting is the find of seven silver punchmarked coins, ascribable to *circa* 3rd century. A.D., on the plastered floor-level of the cave, at the entrance, near the oldest *stūpa*. Although the coins have been in currency much later than they were struck, it is a fact that no later coin has been found along with them. All these circumstances help to fix the initial date of the cave to *circa* 3rd-2nd centuries. B.C. At this point, let it be pointed out that this cave was not far from Seymulla, the port town mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.

The astylar *chaitya* cave at Thanala is apsidal on plan with the *stūpa* located at the farther end in the apse portion. The *stūpa* plan, without the *vēdika* decoration, would be contemporary with the earliest phase of memorial cave No.3, and I am prone to place it earlier than the principal *chaitya* cave at Bhaja, which is so far considered to be the earliest. The adjoining *vihāra* (No.7) also supports such a supposition. This cave also was enlarged backwards, in the 2nd century. B.C., providing for additional cells for the monks, the sculptural and other decoration clearly suggesting similarities wtih the *vihāra* cave from Nasik, containing the inscription of the time of Kṛṣṇa, the second king of the Sātavāhana line.

I shall now place before you, the new evidence from Kondivate. This cave-group, also called Mahākāla, contains the much discussed *chaitya* cave having similarities with the Sudāma cave, in the Barabar hill in Bihar. This cave contains an inscription on the top of one of the perforated windows of the round cell, containing the *stūpa*. This

inscription, however, is datable to *circa* 2nd century. A.D. and was added later. I have copied the inscription and studied it, and my reading of the inscription is as follows:

(1) *pathikamayi-vathavasa, baṁbhanasa Gōtamasa gō - (pa?)*
(2) *tasa kaṇasa vēyikasūçī dānaṁ sabhatakasa.*

"Benefaction of a barred rail of Kaṇha, a Brāhmin of Pathikamayi, of Gautama (son of ? who made it) along with his relations".

This reading tells us that the perforated window, called here as *vēyikasūçī,* was carved later (together with the corresponding window on the other side in *circa* 2nd century. A.D.), perhaps to allow more light in the other-wise dark interior of the circular *chaitya* cell.

Permit me to digress on the use of the word *vēdika* to describe the barred railing around the *stūpa*. The term *vēyika* or *veiya,* commonly found in Pali Prakrit, really means an enclosure or hedge, wooden or otherwise, and its nearest Sanskrit equivalent would be *vṛitika.* Its meaning, according to Apte, is hedge, fence, an enclosure. Monier Williams also gives similar meaning : surrounding, covering, hedge, fence, an enclosed piece of ground or place, particularly, for cultivation. On the contrary, the meaning of *vēdika* is given as (1) sacrificial altar or ground, 2) raised seat, an elevated spot of ground (usually for sacred purpose) and 3) seat in general. It would thus be appropriate to use the Prakrit word *vēyika* or Sanskrit *vṛitika* and not *vēdika* which has gained currency over the years.

Reverting to the original subject, let it be pointed out that, although there is no direct inscriptional evidence bearing on the date of the *chaitya* cave, there is yet another inscription in cave No. 12, which I was fortunate to discover and which has some relevance to the dating of the initial activity at Kondivate.

This new inscription, carved at the base of the *vēyika* in cave No. 12, is however, very much damaged. From what remains, I have been able to read as follows:

-Natha pethanakasa- Kasa dānaṁ vēyika. The inscription records the benefaction of a *vēyika* by some one hailing from Pratiṣṭhāna. The palaeography of the inscription suggests 2nd century. B.C., as the probable date. This cave, which is a

vihāra, also retains in its verandah clear indications of a niche, one on each side, similar to those provided in the interior of the sculptured *vihāra* cave at Bhāja, as also in the extended portion of cave 7 at Thanāla. We have therefore additional evidence to date the *vihāra* to *circa* 2nd C.B.C. Similar niches also exist on the facade of cave 10, adjoining the *chaitya* cave at Koṇḍivāṭe. It is, therefore possible to date this *vihāra* as well as the *chaitya* cave to 2nd century B.C. and I am prone to consider it of nearly equal antiquity with that of the Bhāja *chaitya.* Between Bhāja and Koṇḍivāṭe, the latter will be a shade later than Bhāja for the reason that the *stūpa* contained on it a *vēyika* pattern on the drum, a feature not found in the earliest *stūpas.*

It would thus appear very probable that, Thanāla *chaitya* cave was followed by the *chaitya gṛihas* at Bhāja and Koṇḍivāṭe.

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BRĀHMANICAL ARCHITECTURE DURING THE SĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD IN ANDHRA

-Dr. I.K. Sarma

Sātavāhanas were the first indigenous rulers to revive Vēdic religion in Deccan. The first great ruler, Sātakarṇi-I (189-179 B.C.) performed Aśvamēdha and various other Vēdic sacrifices, besides naming his son as Vēdiśrī. The bigger Naneghat inscription of the time of Vēdiśrī lists a large number of sacrifices, including a second *Aśvamēdha* and a *Rājasūya*. The great importance, meticulous care and generosity with which these sacrifices have been performed as listed[1], speak of the devotion, growing imperial status and prosperity of the Sātavāhanas. The very same record invocates the worship of *Kumāra*, *Indra*, *Saṁkarshaṇa*, *Vāsudēva*, *Chandra*, *Sūrya*, *Yama*, *Varuṇa* and *Kubēra*. Observance of a rite similar to *Śūlagava* sacrifice or *Vṛishōtsarga* ceremony[2], has also seen depicted on a unique coin from Pauni of the time of Sātakarṇi-II (165-105 B.C.). The *Vaidika Āchāra*, both in ritual and learning, was the preserve of both the rulers and the elite. The *Laukika āchāra* and worship developed a bundle of cults. During the early Satavahana period, it was Buddhism that dominated throughout, an Aśōkan legacy indeed! but the early Satavahanas themselves were *Bhāgavatas* and worshipped *Vishṇu*, the *Saptavāhana*. King Hāla[3] (A.D.8-13) appears to be a Saivite and it is significant to note that *Gāthā Saptaśati* refers to *Paśupati* (Hara) and Gauri in the first and last verses. Again in the same work, we find a mention of the temples of various Gods,[4] the Sun being the chief among them.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND (Fig. 1)

The early Sātavāhana rule, prior to *Gautamīputra-Sātakarṇi*, was confined to Maharashtra and certain adjacent territories like the northern and western parts of Andhra Pradesh (Telengana region). Clear indications are forthcoming to show that in other parts of Andhra, small independent principalities rose to power[5] after the fall of

1 I.K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Satavahana Empire*, New Delhi, 1980, p.5.
2. *Ibid.*, pp.89-90.
3. R.G. Basak (ed.). *The Prakrit Gāthā Saptaśati*, Calcutta, 1971, p.21.
4. *Ibid.*, p.23, Gāthas-I-64, II-76, 90, IV-32; and VII-53.
5. A.V. Narasimha Murthy, *The Coins of Karnataka*, Mysore, 1975, p.36. The early Sātavāhanas had asserted their control and subdued them perhaps occasionally. But then Mahārathis and Ānandas had even matrimonial contacts with them.

the Mauryan imperialism. Thus we see *Mahārathis* and *Kuṛas* in Karnataka, a *Gōbhadra* and *Samagōpa* in the Karimnagar-Adilabad[6] regions, a *Mahātalavara Siva Khaḍa* at Polakonda[7] (Warangal), a *Siri Sāta (vi) Kumāra* at Satanikota[8] (Kurnool), a Rājan Kubēraka from Bhattiprolu[9] etc. (Krishna), and a *Mahāmēghavāhana Kaḷiṅga-Mahishakādhipati Siri Sada* at Guntupalli (West Godavari)[10]. Even during the few decades prior to Gautamīputra's southern *digvijaya*, it appears, some regions were under the *Mahārathis*, who were issuing coins in the Sātavāhana tradition, as seen from the unique lead issues recently found in Virapuram[11] digs. Prof. R. Subrahmanyam also reported a few 'Bull' type coins bearing the legend *Mahārathi* from Amaravati-Dharanikota and these conform to Dr. M.Rama Rao's[12] lead issue of a *Mahārathi Sivakanasa*, obtained from Nelakondapalli, district Khammam.

The entire Andhradesa and Karnataka came under the imperial rule of the Sātavāhanas only from the time of *Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi* (A.D. 54-88) and more cognizably from the times of his illustrious sons *Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi* and *Sātakarṇi*. In this paper, I would like to confine myself to some recent architectural discoveries which have a direct bearing on the Brāhmanical leanings of the Sātavāhanas and their allies.

REVIEW OF THE BRĀHMANICAL VESTIGES DURING THE PRECHRISTIAN ERA

It is well-known that during the early historic period from third century B.C. to third century A.D., the entire *Āndhradēśa*, more particularly the eastern belt, was studded with Buddhist monuments and relics. No architectural or sculptural work, aligned to the Śaiva or Vaishṇava faiths of the pre-Christian era, was encountered so far,

6. P.L. Gupta (ed.), *Numismatic Digest*, II, Dec. 1978, pp.17 and 33. Also P. Parabrahma Sastry, "*Legends on the Coins of Chimuka-Satavahana and his Predecessors*". *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (=SIE), V, Mysore, 1978, pp.136-142.
7. V.V. Krishna Sastry (ed.) *The Andhra Pradesh Journal of Archaeology*, I, Hyderabad, 1979, p.27.
8. Information from the excavator of the site, Shri N.C.Ghosh, Superintending Archaeologist, Excavations Branch. The symbolism of the coin type closely recalls the Mahārathi, Sadakaṇa Kaḷālayas and Cutus from Karnataka. See A.V. Narasimha Murthy, *Op.Cit.*, 1975, pp.40-45.
9. G.Bühler, "The Bhattiprolu Buddhist Inscriptions", *Ep.Ind.*, II, pp. 326-327.
10. I.K.Sarma, "Epigraphical Discoveries at Guntupalli," *SIE*, V, Mysore, 1978, pp.50-51.
11. Information from Dr. B.R.Subrahmanyam of Nagarjuna University. Also see *Indian Express*, dt. 20-4-1979. (Vijayawada edition).
12. *JNSI*, XIX, p.184.

except for the solitary *Śivasthala* at Gudimallam in district Chittoor, A..P. In the absence of any contemporary epigraphical references to Saivism or the ruler of the times, its attribution to a specific dynasty or occupants of the area is impossible. But, suffice it to say, that the *vyaktāvyakta* (symbolic and human combined) form of this *Śivaliṅga*, set up within two circular *arghapīṭhas* and isolated from the habitations by a close square *vēdika* like barricade, was an architectural evidence, first of its kind in the country (Pl. 1). This *Liṅga* was worshipped in the open, an hypaethral temple, and in no case, later than second century B.C. as the clear archaeological and art historical evidences show up. This was indeed a *Mahāsthāna* and the earliest ritual during Phase-1, involving a simple offer of food, which included the sacrificial animal, like bull and goat, as their cut bones were found in the contemporary strata. The basal circular stones, holding the *Liṅga* served as *arghapīṭhas*. No *abhishēka* and connected rituals were practised during this early phase [13].

The subsequent phase-2 is marked by the emergence of a *brick apsidal temple* around this *Śiva Liṅga Vēdika* unit. The area at this time was under the later Sātavāhana rule, as coins of *Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi* were found from the neighbouring districts of Cuddapah and Anantapur, in clear historical contexts[14], datable to first-second centuries A.D.

We hold Patanjalis[15] *Śivabhāgavatas* responsible for this early spread of Saivism into the south but finer details are yet elusive. The *Mahēśvara* or *Sadāśivatattva*, the *Liṅgakshētra* and *Pañchabhūta* concepts in the South, appear to have a much earlier mutation in Andhradesa. As a positive and potential evidence of this hypothesis, we may cite the *Liṅgakshētras* at Sri Kalahasti, Kanchipuram, Tiruvannamalai, the great Chidambaram, Srisailam and finally the *Pañchārāmakshētras*, which stand for thorough investigation. A probe like that undertaken at Gudimallam might yield fruitful archaeological data, but alas! how many among the present day temple trustees in the South

13. I.K.Sarma, "Gudimallam Sivalayamu", *Bharati*, 52. No.8 (Aug. '74), pp.7-11; *Indian Archaeology - A review* (=IAR), 1973-74, pp.1-2, Pl.I.
14. Note horse types were only found in these places. I.K.Sarma, Op.cit., 1980, pp.236-238; Pl.XIII-H4, H5. See also *Annual Report of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Andhra Pradesh for the year 1974-75* Hyderabad, 1978, p.5.
15. D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, Calcutta, 1939, pp.140-141.

agree for such a probe into the house of their 'Living God'?

LACK OF DATA

The paucity of archaeological data is two fold. Firstly, the lure of discovery of an overwhelmingly rich sculptured *Stūpas* and *Chaityas* foreclosed the chances of the more inquisitive and no serious enquiry into the origin and spread of the religions was aimed at. It is only in the recent years that such problem-oriented pursuits were planned and the foremost in this direction was the excavation conducted inside the Gudimallam shrine as narrated above.(Figs. 2A & B)

Secondly, the early spread of Buddhism under the dominant Mauryan imperialism and, in particular, Aśōka's *dharma* had relegated the Brāhmanical religions in the South to the background. The latter did not appear openly, so as to leave any remarkable traces in the form of architectural or sculptural vestiges, in Āndhradēśa; so too in Karnataka.

NEW EVIDENCES

The turn of the Christian era brought out virtually a religious revolution, as it were, in the entire country. Āndhradēśa, being geographically sandwiched between the North and the South, lost no time in absorbing these new impacts and transmitting them southwards. The alien powers, who held the North and the Western India, were lured by the grandiose Sanskrit learning and Brahmanical sects. The later Satavahana rulers, and their allies *Mahārathis* developed relationship with the Kushāṇa-Kshātrapa rulers, who proclaimed themselves as devout worshippers of several Hindu Gods, more prominently Śiva and Vishṇu. This renaissance appears to have struck deep roots under the great Saiva teacher Lakulīśa, a potential exponent, reformer and proselytizer of *Pāśupata Śaivism.*

Amarvati Ishṭaliṅga

In this context a remarkable but solitary example of a *Chaturmukhaliṅga* (Pl. 2A, B,C,D) recovered from Amaravati, district Guntur, amply demonstrated the existence of personal worship of Mahēśvara, in an overwhelmingly popular Mahāyāna Buddhist centre of the times. This *Ishṭa-Liṅga*[16], though a lone example, is the earliest specimen of its class, known from peninsular India and of far reaching importance in tracing the character of Saivism in Āndhradesa during first - second century A.D.

Thus, on the one hand we have a clear evidence of public worship of *Śiva-Mahādēva* during second century B.C. at Gudimallam (Phase-1), and on the other the evidence of personal worship of *Sadāśiva* existed at Amaravati, the chief centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism, during second century A.D.

(b) Evidences From Neighbouring Karnataka

We shall consider here certain reliable evidence of Brāhmanical worship, during the Sātavāhana times, from the neighbouring Karnataka.

The Talagunda inscription[17] of Kadaṁba king Kākusthavarman records that God *Bhāva*[18] (Śiva) at *Sthānakuṇḍīśvara* was worshipped by *Sātakarṇis* and other great kings. Another record of the time of *Śāntivarman-I* (A.D. 430-455) says that, before the Kadaṁbas, Sātakarṇi and other rulers worshipped God Praṇavēśvara [19] at that place.

At Banavasi, two apsidal brick[20] structures of the Sātavāhana period associated with lead coins, pottery, etc., were found and, an important epigraphical discovery of recent times is the inscription of *Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi,* in front of the Madhukēśvara temple, whose foundational details go back to the Sātavāhana period. The mound,

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16. I.K.Sarma, A Chaturmukhaliṅga from Amaravati and the Spread of Lakulīśa Pāśupatism in South India", *M.N. Deshpande felicitation volume*. New Delhi (under print).
17. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IV, Intro. pp.188 *Namō Bhagavatō Sthānakuṇḍūra vāsinē Mahādēvāya; Pressubhi Śśatakarṇyadibhiḥ Scha dva vābhyērchite*.
18. Note in Mandsor inscription of Yaśōdharman, A.D.550. Śiva is described as *Bahva-Sraj* (creator of the world).
19. P.B. ed, *A History of Karnataka*, Dharwar, 1970, p.53; *Ep.Car*. VIII, p.200.
20 A.V. Narasimha Murthy, *SIE*, I, 1974, pp.34-35 and also in *Prabuddha Karnataka*, 52, No.4, p.25.

known as *Doniguḍḍa*, on excavation, revealed an apsidal temple with *liṅga* pedestal, associated with black-and-red ware, russet-coated ware and rouletted ware, along with coins of Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi[21]. Recently some important finds such as Śivaliṅgas, Nandi (Karmadēva temple) and ruined brick temples were noticed by A. Sundara in the surrounding areas of Banavasi[22]. At Aihole and Pattadakal, the excavations by S.R. Rao, revealed[23] Sātavāhana coins and brick temple foundations of Saiva order. These levels were associated with *red-polished ware* and the temple reveals, a rectangular plan on 16-square masonary pedestals. Use of stone was not there at this level, but the structure had not been fully traced. *Adhishṭhāna* or *praṇāla* details are not clearly noticeable.

It is, therefore, increasingly becoming clear that the later Sātavāhana rulers were inclined more towards Saiva worship and erected several brick temples along the sacred rivers in the Southern Deccan. These temples were mostly square or rectangular and a few of them apsidal. Even the personal names[24] of the rulers were prefixed with names like *Kumāra, Śiva Svāti, Śiva Śrī, Śiva Skanda* and so on.

(c) Chejerla Temple : New Evidences (Figs. 3 & 4)

Inspired by the unique evidence at Gudimallam Phase-2, trial digging was attempted to record the basal features of the standing apsidal brick temple at Chejerla, district Guntur (Pl. 3). This brought to light hitherto unknown foundational details. In its earliest phase - 1, dated to the later Satavahana times, the brick temple has an *upāna* of two bricks (15 cms), a high *Jagati* (20 cms.) *Kampa* (12-$^1/_2$ cms.), *kaṇṭha* recess with *kampas*, a flat *paṭṭika* and *pratī* of a single brick projection, over which the wall of the

21. *IAR*, 1970-71, pp.28-29; Fig.3. The temple plan is significant. It has a long hall with apsidal back, the hall front divided into two equal sized rectangular rooms, a brick paved *Pradakshiṇa* on the exterior. The *prākāra* is also of the same shape as of the temple. This entire unit can be deemed as a *sāndhara prāsāda* type. Also *Puratattva*, no.4 1970-71, p.56.
22. A.Sundara, "Some Noteworthy Antiquities from Banavasi Area". *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, 70, No.3, 1979-71, pp.165-169.
23. *Lalit Kala*, 15, pp.9-18; See also p.17 note and Figs.20 and 21.
24. P.R.Srinivasan, *Beginnings of the Traditions of South Indian Temple Architecture*, Madras, 1959, pp.27-28, Fig. 26. We do not agree with the identification of a *Śiva* shrine and Nandi and *dhvajastambha* among the reverse device of a Sātavāhana lead coin alleged to have been the issue of Yajña Srī Sātakarṇi. No such coin types were known.

shrine rose (fig.3). These foundational features correspond to a simple *mañchaka* type of basement. It may be noted that the plumb line (*mānasūtra*) corresponds well between the *kapōta* projection over the beam and the *upāna* below (fig.4). The floor -1 is laid with slabs below the *upāna* level. There is no *praṇāla* arrangement, not even a *vārimārga* to the wall. This feature comes into being in the subsequent Phase-2. The temple unit of this phase comprised of a long apsidal ending hall (7.5mts. long and 2.64 mts. wide) with a simpler square entrance. The *Liṅga* was set up at the centre of the apsidal back. It is of limestone and had a squarish mortise hole on top corresponding to the *āyaka* pillar, but smaller in size and girth, when compared to the ones in the *ārāmakshētras*. The raised slab floor of the later period, around the *liṅga-pīṭha* set up, had concealed the corresponding levels of Phase-1 within the shrine interior. We have, however, indicated (Fig. 4) here the original level in dotted line. It is impossible to check up the foundational details in the interior in the manner attempted at Gudimallam, for, the temple is under regular worship. The brick sizes correspond to 45 x 25 x 7-$^{1}/_{2}$ cms. and the associated pottery wares include black-and-red, red polished, russet-coated and white painted wares, etc.

There is no doubt about its Brāhmanical affiliation right from its earliest Phase-1, coeval with the late Sātavāhana times and the older view that the apsidal temple "was originally a Buddhist *chaitya* converted into a Saiva temple on the decline of Buddhism about seventh or eighth century A.D.", does not hold good any more[25].

The subsequent phases (2 and 3) marked the continuation and further elaboration in the complex, during late Ikshvāku-Vishṇukuṇḍin and early Pallava periods, which are omitted here from consideraton[26].

25. A.H. Longhurst, "The Kapōtēśvara temple at Chejerla in Guntur District" *ARADSC*, 1907-1910, pp.32-35. K.R. Srinivasan endorsed this view even very recently *Temples of South India*. New Delhi, 1979, p.24.

26. I.K.Sarma, "The Chejerla Temple Complex; District Guntur", *Dr. R.Subrahmanyam Felicitation Volume* (under Print).

Early Vestiges In The Submersible Areas of Mahboobnagar and Kurnool Districts

This ancient tract of land falls in the Sangam zones around the rivers Krishna, Tungabhadra and Bhavanasi. The significance of *sthala* and *tīrtha* led to the establishment of ancient temple complexes (*dēvakūṭaṁ*) and several notable groups have come to light as a result of a recent village-to-village survey of this region[27].

The recent epigraphical, numismatic and architectural discoveries take them back to early centuries of the Christian era.

1. Excavations At Virapuram

B.R. Subrahmanyam of the Nagarjuna University, under the auspices of the Birla Archaeological Institute., Hyderabad, conducted excavations at this ancient mound, during the year 1977-78 and 1978-79. The cultural sequence[28] begins with the Chalcolithic - Neolithic period at its earliest level and ends with second-third centuries A.D.

The most remarkable finds here were a group of brick temples at the crowning part of the mound, overlooking the river Krishna. In all, 14 units were found enclosed within a two metre wide dry-stone *prākāra* wall of poor foundation (fig.5).

Two clear phases of activity were noticeable in the excavated structures. The earliest group is dated to the beginning of first century A.D. In this phase, the temple units (10 nos.) were built entirely of brick, square on plan and with the entrance approached by a step. The *adhishṭhānas* were of simple *mañchaka* type, consisting of a relatively high *upāna* and low *jagati*, with brick courses laid in a stepped fashion, simulating the brick wall of phase-2 at Gudimallam. The *Liṅga*, in each case, is a rolled river pebble of quartzite, fixed into the ground floor of the cella. Around the *liṅga*, the floor, however, is demarcated by vertically placed brick-lining in a square fashion, a sort of arrangement similar to the square stone *pīṭhas* with ridged border. A *vārimārga* passes through the side wall, just above the *upāna* level. This was linked to a square trough made out of slabs. It must be noted here that the *praṇālas* do not correspond to

27. I.K.Sarma, *Report on the Antiquarian Remains in the submersible areas under Srisailam Hydro Electric Project, Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad, 1977.

28. B.R. Subrahmanyam, "Veerapuram - A mysterious vast". *Indian Express*, 20th April, 1979.

a single direction, but variously placed during this phase.

During phase-2, dated to third-fourth centuries A.D., the floor level was raised in all the units, to nearly 10 to 13 cms. in height. A square brick pedestal was added in the centre of the shrines (1,2, 4 and 11). The *Liṅga* remained fixed at the centre, with a stone slab *pīṭha*. The older *vārimārgas* were provided with a lining of slab pieces. The level of the drain was correspondingly raised and so also the troughs outside. But the orientation and plans of the earlier phase did not undergo any substantial change. The addtions, however, are a *maṇḍapa* (no.3) connecting the shrines 1 and 2; and an additional shrine at the south (no.4). The four units thus correspond to a *trikūṭāchala* type. Another shrine no.14 came into being at the northern side, facing east. A small *antarāla maṇḍapa* (no.12) was added to the shrine-11. During this renovation phase, the complex was provided with a *prākāra* wall of two metre width, its southern and western wings were found to a length of 26.10 and 27.60 metres respectively, while the eastern and northern (the river side) perhaps got swept by the river floods. The shrines might have contained flat roofs, consisting of bamboo and thatch, supported by cross beams and vertical pillars of wood. This is largely the pattern even now for houses, as well as temples of modern, are built of similar size though not always, of brick walls but instead with mud-walls. The brick sizes here correspond to two varieties 54 X 27 X 9 cms. and 49 X 24 X 8 cms.

Except for the *liṅga* in the centre of each shrine, no other icon or niche figure was noticeable. As already stated, all the shrines are square, ranging from 1.30 to 3.40 mts.

The size of the shrines, more or less being equal and each possessing a central object of worship, viz, a *Liṅga* on pedestal, we deem them as independent units raised variously by the devotees, who frequented this *tīrthakshētra*.

The earliest levels, coeval with these shrines, yielded historical pottery, such as black-and-red, rouletted and red-slipped wares. Besides, a unique series of lead coins, nearly thirteen, were found from the associated floor levels. All these coins (Pl.4), on their obverse contained an elephant with its trunk hanging and walking to left or right, with either *Śrīvatsa* or triangle-headed banner, above its back. The legend partly reads as "*Mahāraṭhi Śiva Khaḍa* ..." (also *Mahāraṭhi Khaḍa* .... and *Mahāraṭhi Ḷamāsisa*) in the characters assignable to first-second centuries A.D. The reverse, in all these cases,

however, contained a six arched crescented hill, wavy line below, within a double line square frame and occasionally flanked by tree in low railing on either side. These coins clearly push the date of the temple to the middle of first century A.D. The most notable aspect from the point of view of architectural embellishments and their dating are: (1) The absence of a well defined *adhiṣṭhānas* and (2) all the shrines are simple square chambers, with no attached minor shrines in their early phase, whereas in the subsequent repaired phase, the layout changed in respect of three simple units (nos. 1, 2 and 11) and *maṇḍapa* added in their front. The entrance was towards this *maṇḍapa* and thus a *trikūṭa* shrine comes into being at such an early date. The arrangement for draining off the *abhishēka jala* exits right from the earliest phase itself, but later on, slab lining was provided for each drainage. The excavator finds no evidence at the site beyond third century A.D. and that the place was abandoned suddenly. It appears that the *kshētra* shifted to Vellala, a village hardly 300 metres north, from the site of Virapuram, close on the right bank of the same river.

(2) Rangapur, Mahaboobnagar District

The ancient site is away from the village but close to the Krishna bridge at the 162 Km., stone on Kurnool-Hyderabad National High-way. Here, a square brick temple, measuring 4.10 mts., externally and 2.20 mts. internally, was unearthed by the State Department of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh. The *adhiṣṭhāna* reveals a simple *mañchaka* type with a *padmabandha jagati* (Pl. 5), made out of chamfered bricks. The size of the brick corresponds to 38 X 20 X 8 cms. No *praṇāla* or *kōshṭha* arrangement is seen. It is a simple square chamber, with a paved brick floor inside. The *mūlabēra* was kept into a socket right on the floor, which is above the *upāna* level, only the socket depression is found. The main entrance is towards the river, which flows close to the temple. The frequent flooding of the site apears to have destroyed the other remains here. A scatter of black-and-red and red-polished wares was found associated.

(3) Gumakonda (Gummadam), Mahaboobnagar District

In a deserted field, close to Peddavagu, the excavations revealed, apart from certain medieval remains, a small unit of brick temples. In phase-1, a square brick temple has a solidly built *mañchaka* type *adhiṣṭhāna* with the main entrance being towards the east marked by a crescented step, as in the Buddhist *chaityagrihas*. The narrow rectangular projections on the three sides of the *kaṭi*, right from *jagati* level are possibly meant for *bhadrakōshṭha* set up. The brick sizes correspond to 41 X 20.5 X 9 cms. There was no *praṇāla* arrangement in this phase.

But the next phase-2 witnessed an elaboration and levelling up of the site. Another smaller unit was added just behind (west) the earlier square temple. On plan, this was also a square temple but with a narrow *ardhamaṇḍapa* and a transversely laid *agra-maṇḍapa*. The sanctum had a *Śivaliṅga*, over a slab *pīṭha*, the *liṅga* was of greenish limestone. The two units were brought within a *prākāra*, raised out of random Cuddapah slab pieces. The earlier temple, of phase-1 was now provided with a *praṇāla* and connected to a slab-lined trough, beyond the northern side wall. Besides, a smaller brick pedestal at the north-east was perhaps meant for an *āvaraṇa* deity.

Phase-1 is dated to third - fourth centuries A.D., while the subsequent phase-2 seems to go well with the Virapuram evidence.

(4) Kudavellisangameswaram, Mahaboobnagar District

Almost a similar evidence was met with at the interesting digs of Kudavelli, by Shri N.C. Ghosh, Superintending Archaeologist, Excavations Branch, Nagpur. Ground plans of square brick temples were brought to light in a row, oriented east-west and facing north, that is, the confluence point of the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra (Pl. 6. A & B.). This brick phase runs below the ornate *prākāra* of the early Chāḷukyan temple named *Saṅgameśvara*. This massive and ornate temple in brown sandstone, came up when perhaps the brick ones lost their superstructures.

The brick size corresponds to 44 X 20 X 2-$^1/_2$ cms. and two clear phases can be seen, though both overlap. In the earliest phase-1, the temples were associated with black-and-red , red-polished wares, late Roman and Byzantine gold coins, etc. These finds suggest a date not later than fourth century A.D., while in the subsequent phase-2, besides a scatter of red-polished ware, a Vishṇukuṇḍin coin was also found.

(5) Siddhesvaram, Kurnool District

Prof. R. Subrahmanyam of the Nagarjuna University, excavated the site, where a stone temple bearing the name of *Siddhēśvarasvāmi* was also located. The stone temple is of a simpler *Kadaṁba-Nāgara* or *Piḍha* type, assignable to the later Chāḷukyas. Digging right below this stone edifice and the closeby area brought to light an interesting series of brick temple units, oriented north-south and facing west, that is, the river Krishna, on whose right bank they were raised. Two examples are somewhat bigger while others, in between are smaller square units, with *liṅgas* over slab *pīṭhas*. Some of these smaller examples are appreciably of earlier origin and the bigger ones of the renovated phase.

The bigger examples present two distinct styles in their plinth and elevational features. The first one, sequentially the earliest (Pl. 7), has on plan, a square sanctum fronted by a narrow *antarāḷa* and an open larger *agramaṇḍapa* (open porch) approached by a descent. However, the *upāna* and *jagati* were common to all. The elevational features indicate, on plan, a *jagati* with a *padmabaṅdha* (cymarecta) top. The floor above *Jagati* all over, revealed certain details, illustrative of the *vāstuvinyāsa* ritual. A number of small globular vessels were found within a neatly cut circular groove[29] at the cardinal and corner points over the *Vēdi* (plinth). Similarly, within the sanctum also below the floor, a pit is exposed, where perhaps a *kalaśa* or *vāstu purusha* figure lay buried.

The *liṅga*, a sandstone river pebble, was installed on a brick pedestal and fitted into a slab *pīṭha* with a chute projection, towards north. In this, the slab is found variously broken on the floor. A *vārimārga* carried the *abhishēka* water through the northern side wall. The wall of the shrine proper had recessions on the outer faces, indicating an elevational decor of a simpler pilastered type at the *karṇa* offset and a *kōshṭha* or *gavāksha* set up on the *bhadras*.

The bigger brick temple (Pl. 8) exposed right below the stone one, is somewhat more elaborate and massive in its conception and elevational decor. On plan, it has a

29. N.V. Mallayya, *Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture*, Annamalai, 1949, pp.127-138; P.A.Mankad (ed.) *Aparajita Prichha, Gaekwad Oriental Series*, No.CXV, Baroda, 1950, *Sutra*, 114, p.284. A few empty slots not coming under the above alignment seem to function as mere post-holes for a pavilion overhead on festive occasions.

spacious square sanctum, a narrow *antarāḷa* and an *agramaṇḍapa* porch, approached by a wider and laterally placed steps, with side banisters and *chandraśila* at the bottom, the latter covered by slabs. The subdivision of the *adhishṭhāna* (basement) above the *upāna* (sub-plinth), reveals certain characteristic features. It belongs to a *padmabandha* class, the members in the ascending order are *upāna, jagati, kampa* (fillet), *antarīta* (recess), a *tripaṭṭakumuda, kaṇṭha* and perhaps a crowning *kapōta* (roll cornice), all made of moulded as well as chamfered bricks. The boldly projecting features of the *adhishṭhāna* clearly indicate the elevational decor over the *bhadra* and *vimāna-tala*[30] which contained perhaps a *hāra* of *kūṭa, pañjara* and *śālaśikharas* alternated over the *talas*, alike southern *vimāna* arch-type. Accordingly, the central longer projection conforms to the *śāla-kōshṭha*, while the two smaller ones on its either - side are meant for *pañjara* and *kūṭa śikharas*, the latter fitting *karṇa* (corner). Quite a good number of stucco figures- *kīrtimukhas, kudus*, geese and *vyāḷa* faces were found. They indicate the decorative pattern on the *kapōta*, *valabhi* and other parts of the *śikhara*. The brick size corresponds to 37 X 18 X 7 cms., and the associated pottery included red-polished and red-slipped wares, datable to *circa* fourth century A.D. There is no denial of fact that this brick temple is the most impressive among the excavated ones and of far reaching importance in tracing the evolution of the early brick architecture of Andhra desa.

The later Chāḷukyas, who built the stone temple in *circa* 9-10th centuries A.D. right over this, had retained the *linga*, the inner floor level and the stone *praṇāla* projecting at the northern side wall.

The cumulative evidence provided by the excavations at the above sites, notably Virapuram and Kudavelli, for the first time, reveals that the Brāhmanical architecture was entirely in brick medium. The use of stone was extremely limited to the *mūlabēra*, here the *linga* and occasionally, a slab *pīṭha*. The first occupants, who realised the *tīrthakshētra* concept and sanctity of the *sthala*,. that is, the confluence zone of the rivers Krishna-Tungabhadra-Bhavanasi, were the Sātavāhanas and their allies Mahārathis, during the first-second centuries A.D. They deserve to be credited with building of many brick temples, not only in the lower Krishna and Tungabgadra Zones but also at

30. The nearest standing example is stone of this southern *vimāna* arch-type is Rupalasangamesvara at the Bhavanasi Sangamesvaram. See B.Rajendra Prasad, "Rāshṭrakūṭa Temples at Bhavanāsi Sangam". *Artibus Asiae*, XXXIV, 1972, pp.211-213, C.Pl.I.

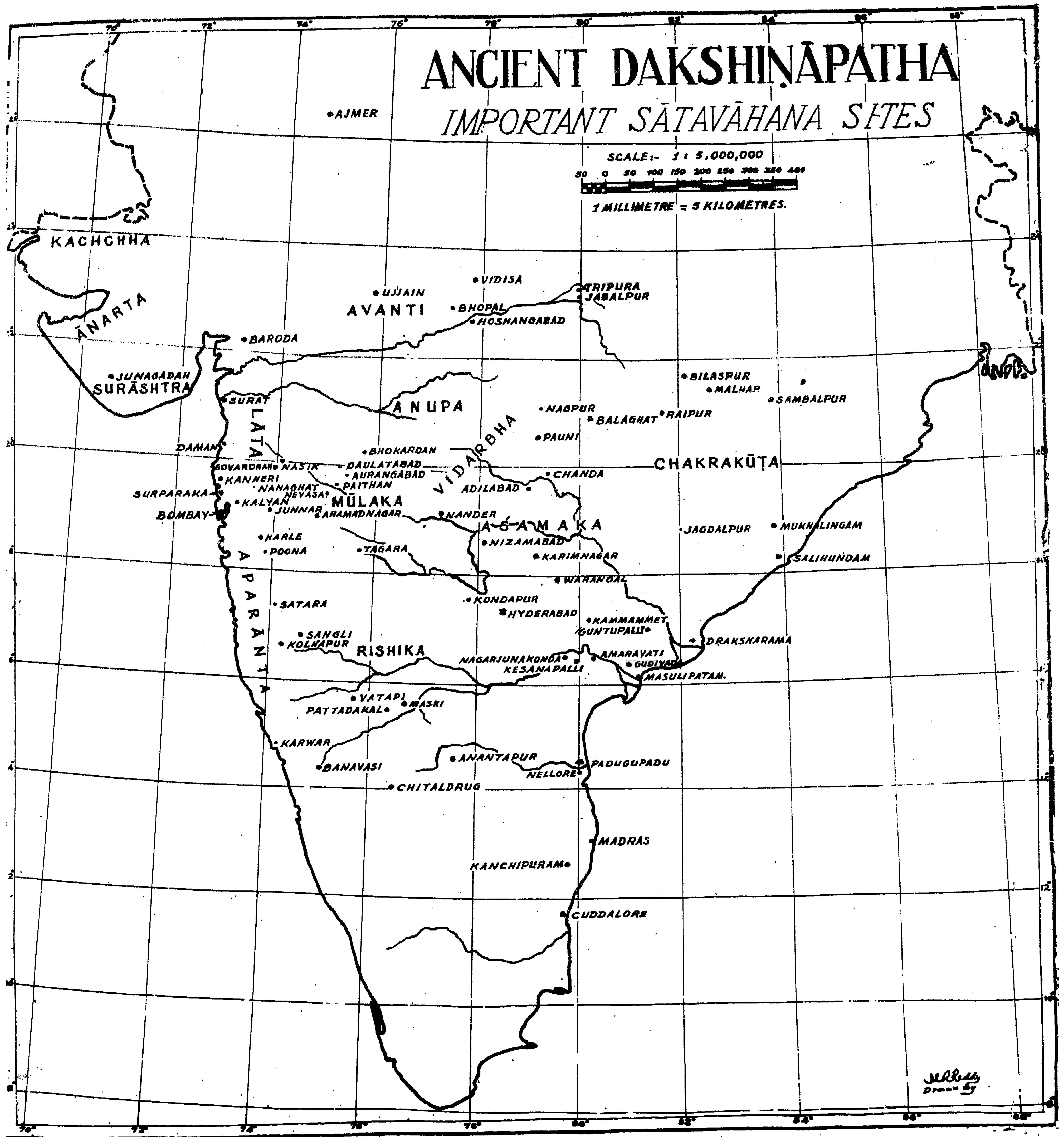
other places like Gudimallam (phase-2), Chejerla (Phase-1) and far away at Bhavanasi and Aihole in Karnataka. Thus, a brick house for Śiva, who was till then in the hypaethral (Gudimallam Linga phase-1). comes into being. Certain ritualistic modes such as *argha* (offer), *abhishēka* (bathing), and *archana* (worship) were also initiated by them and clear structural provisions appear from the later Sātavāhana times. But these observances were *naimittika* (occasional) but not *nitya* (regular) as in the Chāḷukyan and later times. During this formative stage such factors as orientations of the temples, accessory units, etc. (Rangapur, Virapuram), were not yet codified. Several smaller square shrines with *liṅgas* merely set on floor, were caused to crop up on the river banks and confluence spots, each independent by itself. The brick tradition grew steadily with cognizable evolutionary trends both in their layouts and elevational features. The vital elements that soon appeared into this simple abode of God, during the second to sixth centuries A.D., may briefly be stated as under.

(1) The addition of a *maṇḍapa* on the front for assembly and festivity of God (Virapuram Phase-2); (2) a clear provision for externing the *abhishēka jala* at the northern wall face (Siddheswaram, Kudavelli Phase-1), which, later on, were slab-lined or covered and connected to brick troughs; (3) a provision for subsidiary shrines or alternately *bhadra-kōshṭhas* over the *kaṭi* (Gummakonda, Siddheswaram) and the observance of elaborate *vāstu-vinyasa* rituals such as *kaḷā-nyāsa, kaḷāpakarshṇa*, etc., (4) the raising of a *prākāra* to safeguard the temple units from flooding or segregate them from the nearby habitations (Virapuram Phase-2, Siddheswaram, Kudavelli etc.); and (5) the predominant shape of the early brick temples was *square*,[31] although occasionally, some were apsidal (Gudimallam Phase-2, Chejerla, Ter, Banavasi and Aihole). It is but natural that the early Chāḷukyan rulers, who came to power by the later half of sixth century A.D., not only chose these very places, for, they were already famed sacred spots, but caused no dislocation to the extant *mūlabēras* (Siddheswaram and Kudavelli), raised grand and elaborate temples in stone with impressive and ornate *maṇḍapas, prākāras* and multi-stroreyed *śikharas* and created several *vyakta* forms of Brāhminical deities to adorn them. The rituals too took a complex shape along with *purāṇic* theism.

31. It may be racalled that "the shape of *Vāstu* for Gods and Brāhmaṇas is prescribed as square", the square is literally the fundamental form presupposing the circle and results from it and both emerge in turn from the vedic fire altar. Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, I, Calcutta, 1946, pp.22-23, 39.

Above all, the most remarkable feature lies in the pre-eminent status enjoyed by these great *tīrtha-kshētras*, purely of Saiva character, for several centuries along these intractible river zones, culminating in the growth of a celebrated Mallikārjuna[32] Śiva *Kshētra* at Srisailam. The desideratum should, therefore, be correlated to the vast literary legacy with an organised field work.

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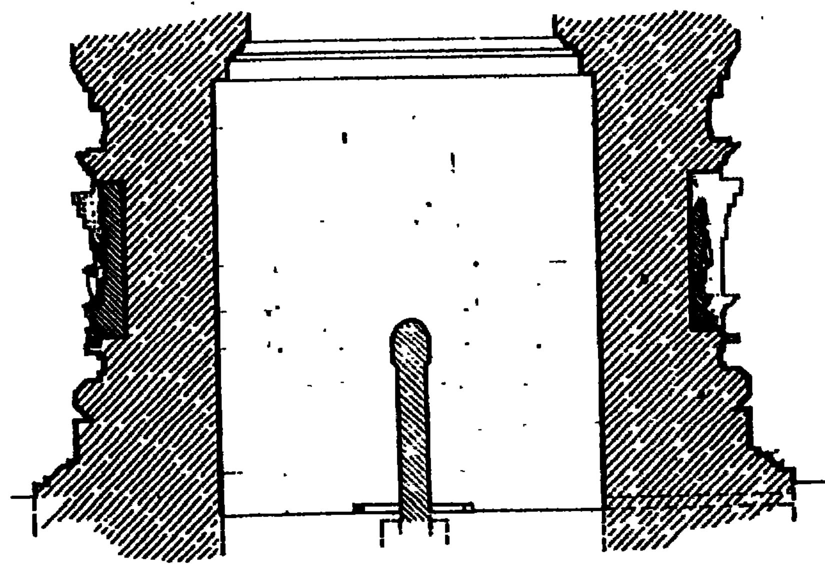
ANCIENT DAKSHIṆĀPATHA
IMPORTANT SĀTAVĀHANA SITES
SCALE:- 1 : 5,000,000
1 MILLIMETRE = 5 KILOMETRES.
AJMER
KACHCHHA
ĀNARTA
SURĀSHTRA
JUNAGADAH
BARODA
UJJAIN
VIDISA
AVANTI
BHOPAL
HOSHANGABAD
TRIPURA
JABALPUR
SURAT
LĀTA
ANUPA
VIDARBHA
NAGPUR
BALAGHAT
RAIPUR
BILASPUR
MALHAR
SAMBALPUR
PAUNI
DAMAN
BHOKARDAN
GOVARDHAN
NASIK
DAULATABAD
AURANGABAD
PAITHAN
KANHERI
NANAGHAT
NEVASA
SURPARAKA
KALYAN
JUNNAR
MŪLAKA
BOMBAY
AHAMADNAGAR
CHANDA
ADILABAD
CHAKRAKŪṬA
NANDER
ASAMAKA
JAGDALPUR
MUKHALINGAM
KARLE
POONA
TAGARA
NIZAMABAD
KARIMNAGAR
SALIHUNDAM
APARĀNTA
WARANGAL
SATARA
KONDAPUR
HYDERABAD
KAMMAMMET
GUNTUPALLI
SANGLI
KOLHAPUR
RISHIKA
DRAKSHARAMA
NAGARJUNAKONDA
KESANAPALLI
AMARAVATI
GUDIVADA
MASULIPATAM.
VATAPI
PATTADAKAL
MASKI
KARWAR
BANAVASI
ANANTAPUR
PADUGUPADU
NELLORE
CHITALDRUG
MADRAS
KANCHIPURAM
CUDDALORE



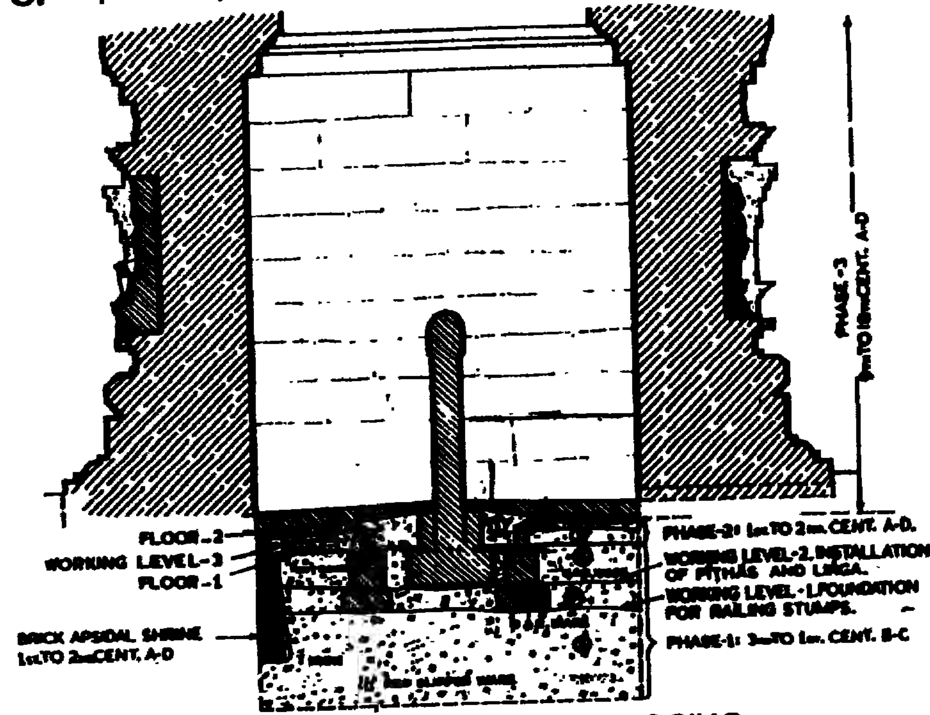
Pl. 1 : Sivalinga within the railing - Gudimallam (V), Chittor District.

GUDIMALLAM : PARAŚURĀMĒŚVARA TEMPLE.
DIST. CHITTOOR.(A·P). 1973 - 74

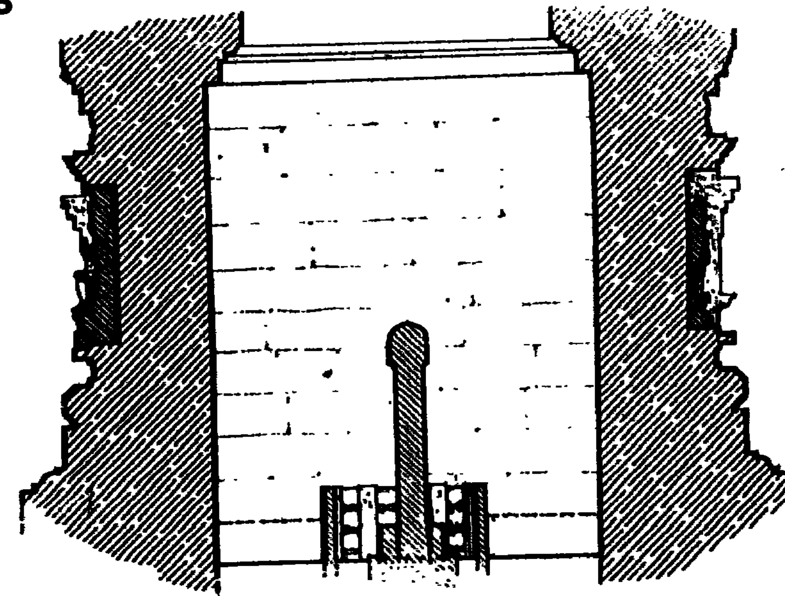
SCALE OF 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 METRES



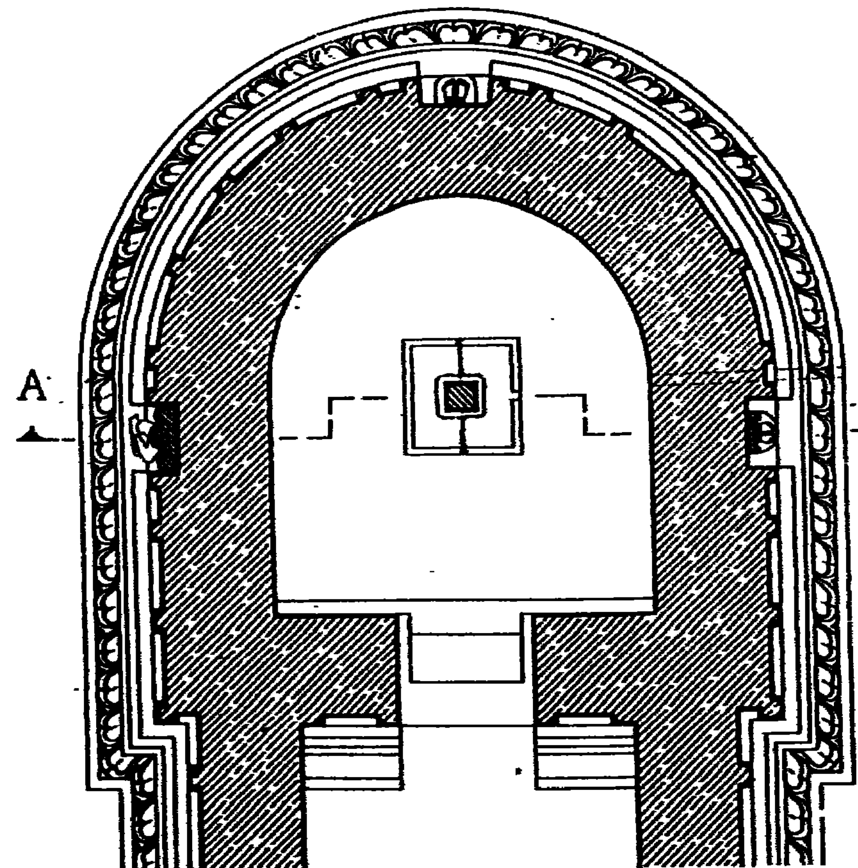
SECTION ON A-A. BEFORE DIGGING
INSIDE GARBHAGṚIHA



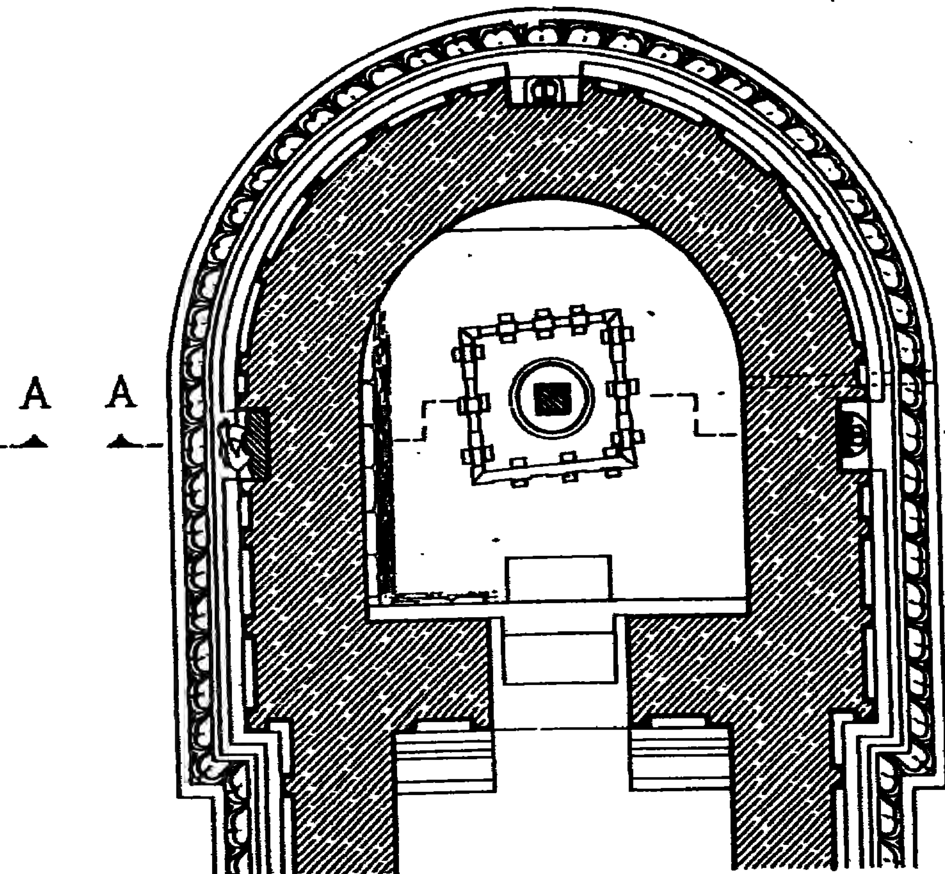
SECTION ON A-A. AFTER DIGGING
INSIDE GARBHAGṚIHA



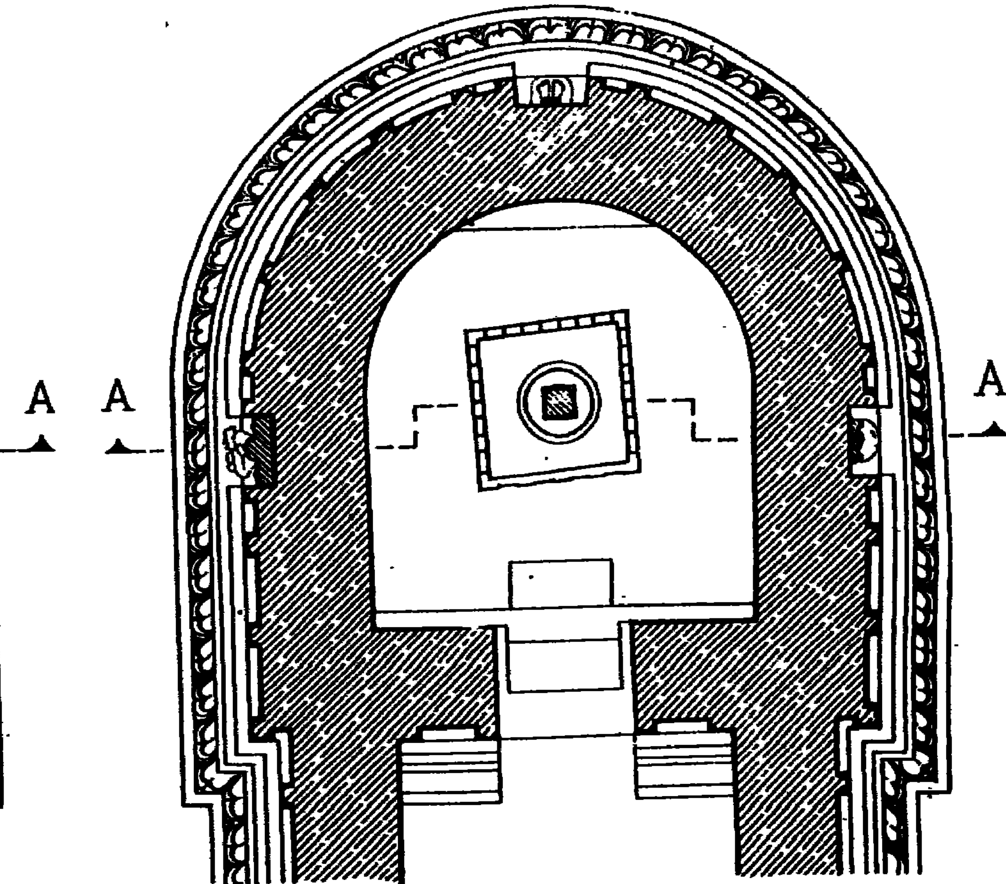
SECTION ON A-A. AFTER CONSERVATION
INSIDE GARBHAGṚIHA



PLAN. BEFORE DIGGING
INSIDE GARBHAGṚIHA



PLAN. AFTER DIGGING
INSIDE GARBHAGṚIHA



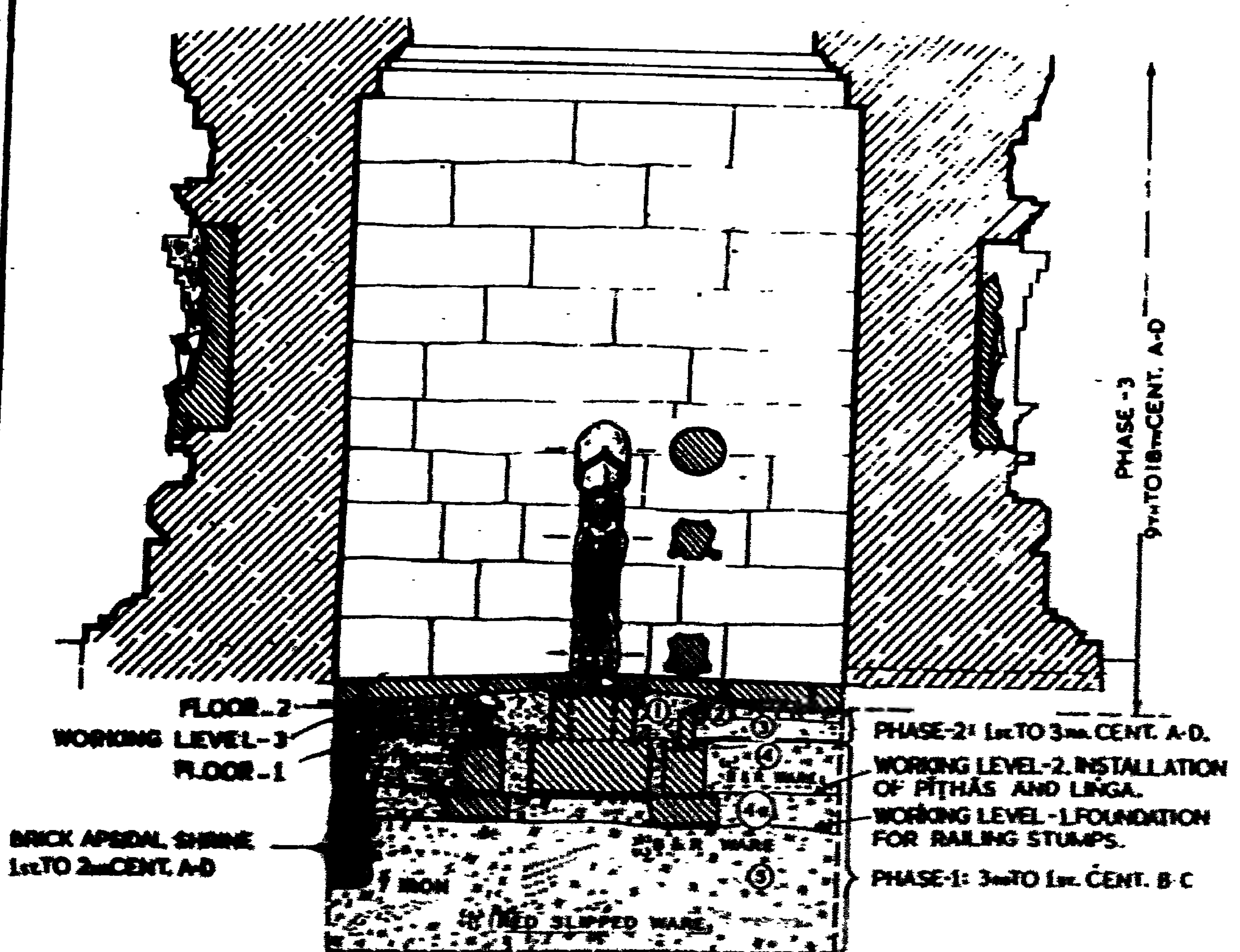
PLAN. AFTER CONSERVATION
INSIDE GARBHAGṚIHA

Fig.2(A) :

GUDIMALLAM : PARAŚURĀMĒŚVARA TEMPLE

DIST. CHITTOOR (A.P) 1973 - 74





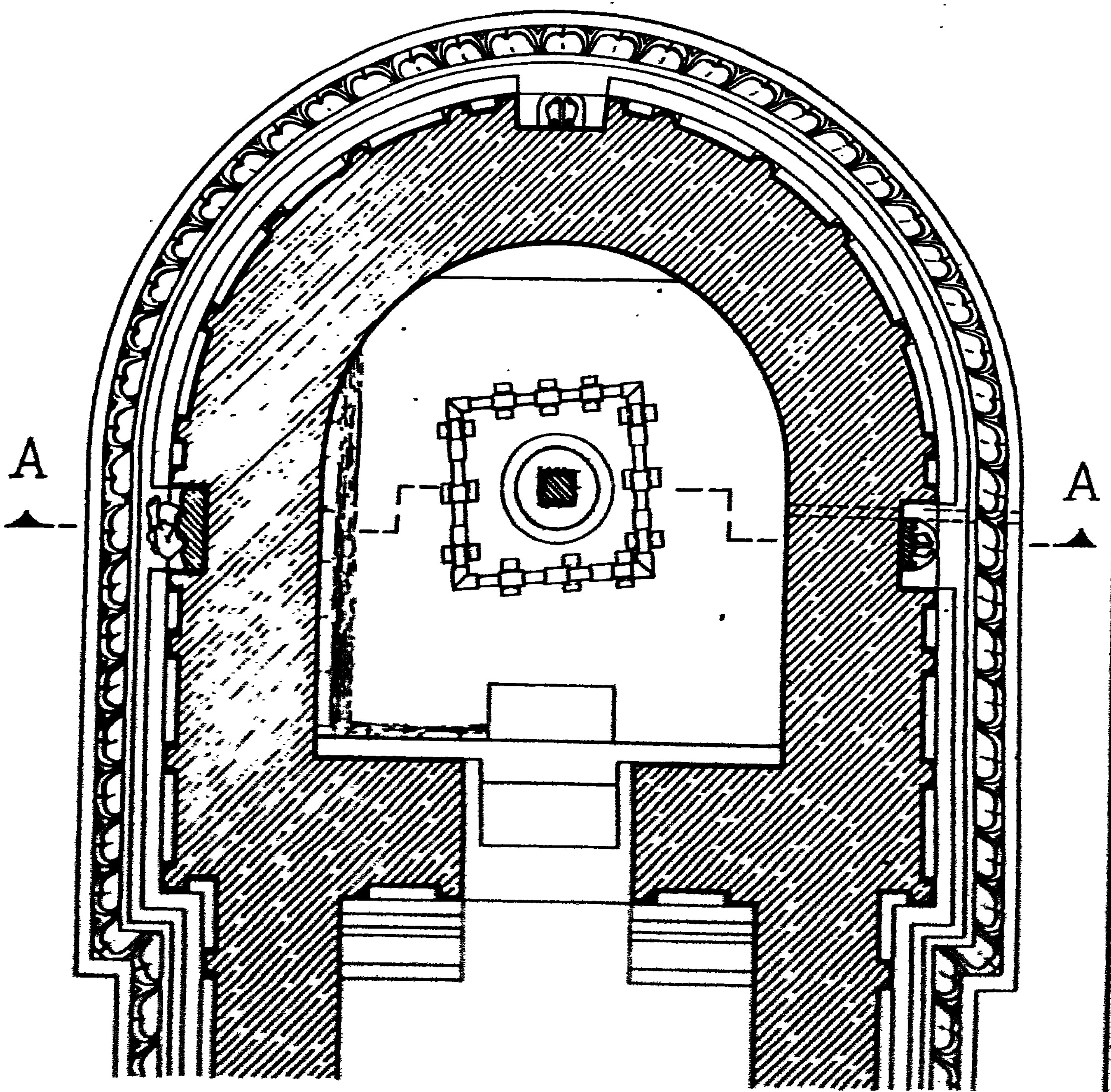


Fig.2(B) :



Pl. 2(A) : *Chaturmukhaliṅga* - east face - Amaravati, Guntur District.



Pl. 2(B) : *Chaturmukhaliṅga* - south face - Amaravati, Guntur District.



Pl. 2(C) : *Chaturmukhaliṅga* - north face - Amaravati, Guntur District.

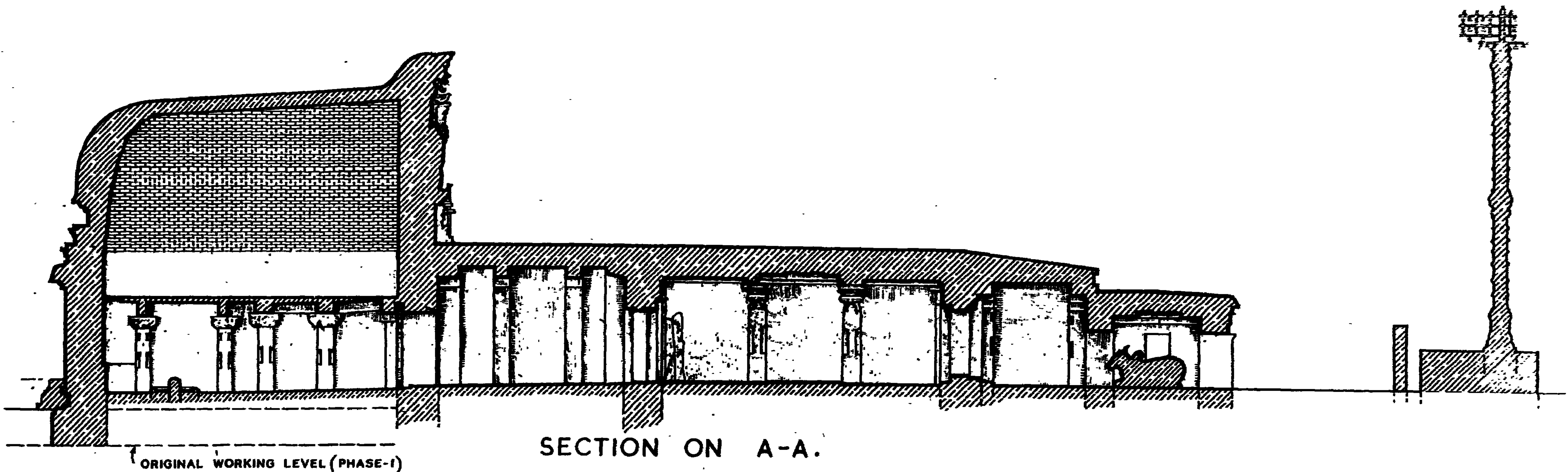


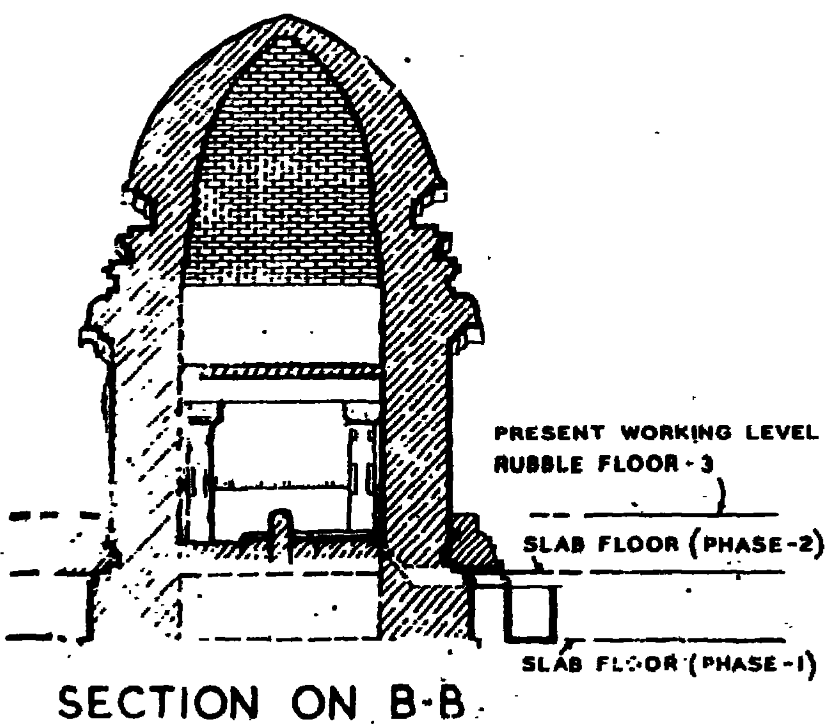
Pl. 2(D) : *Chaturmukhaliṅga* - west face - Amaravati, Guntur District.

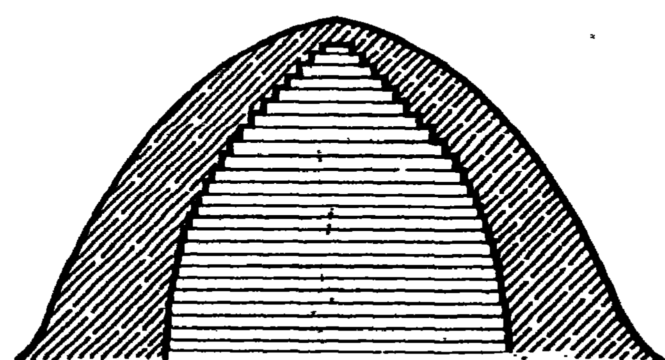
APSIDAL TEMPLE AT CHEJARLA

DIST. GUNTUR (A.P)

SCALE OF 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 METERS







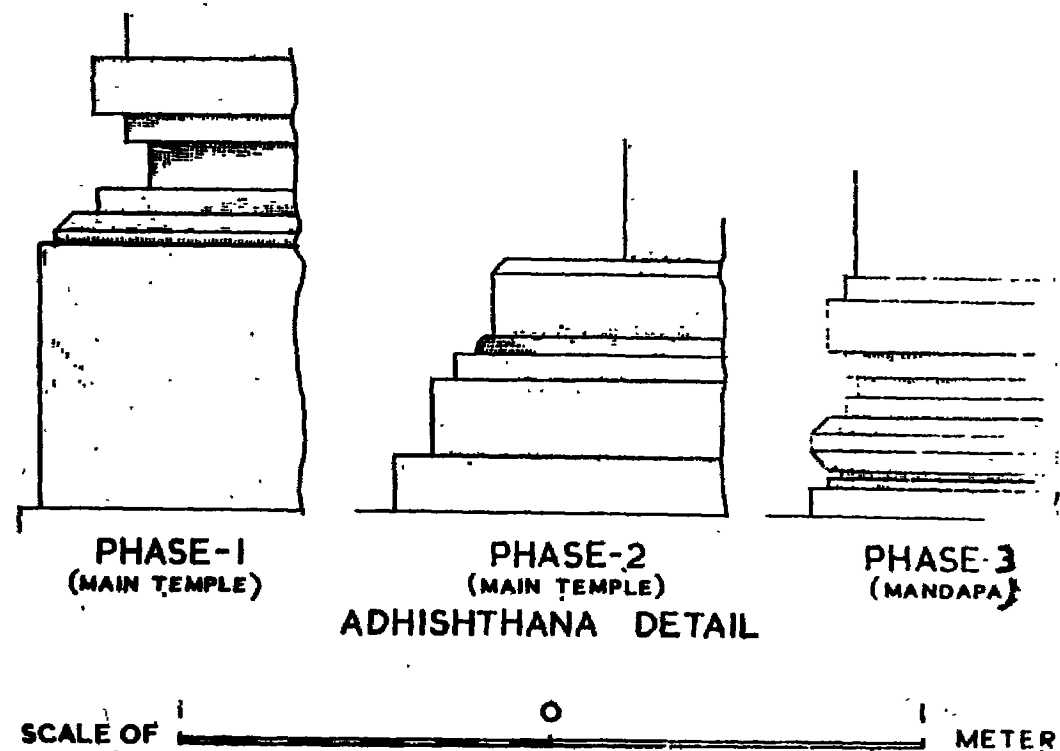
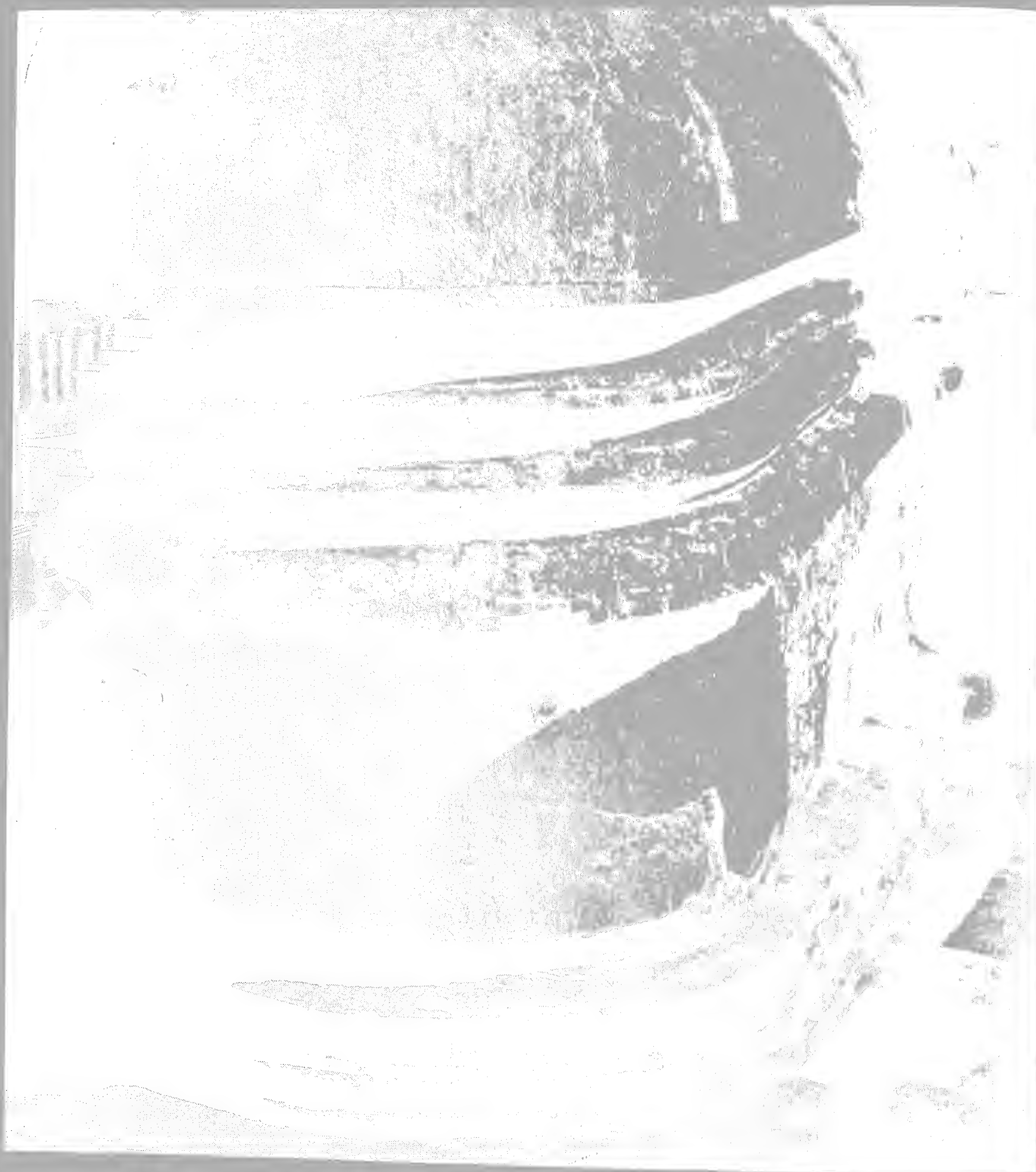
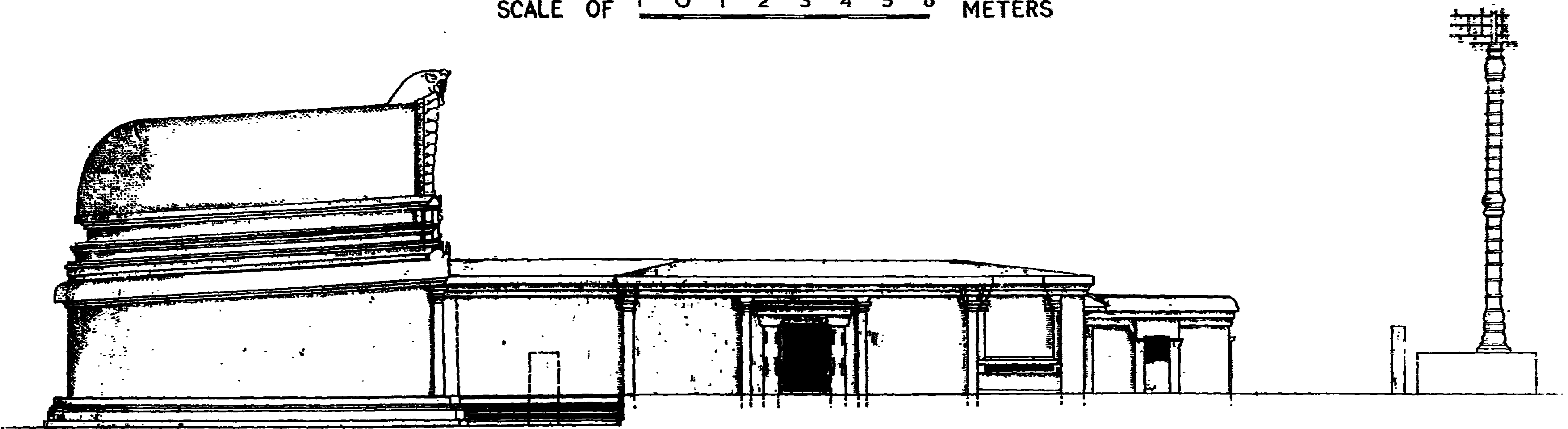


Fig. 3



Pl. 3 : Apsidal Temple (Phase 1) - Chejarla (V), Guntur District.


APSIDAL TEMPLE AT CHEJARLA
DIST. GUNTUR (A.P)
SCALE OF 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 METERS
SIDE ELEVATION

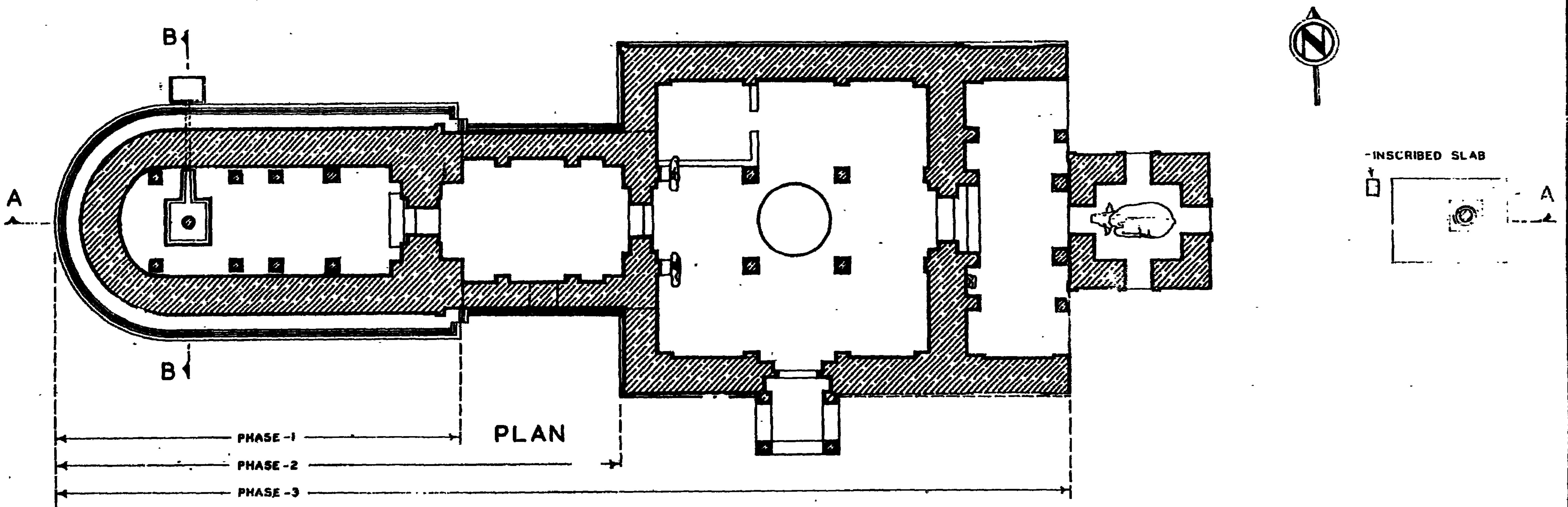

PLAN
A
B
PHASE -1
PHASE -2
PHASE -3
N
INSCRIBED SLAB

Fig. 4

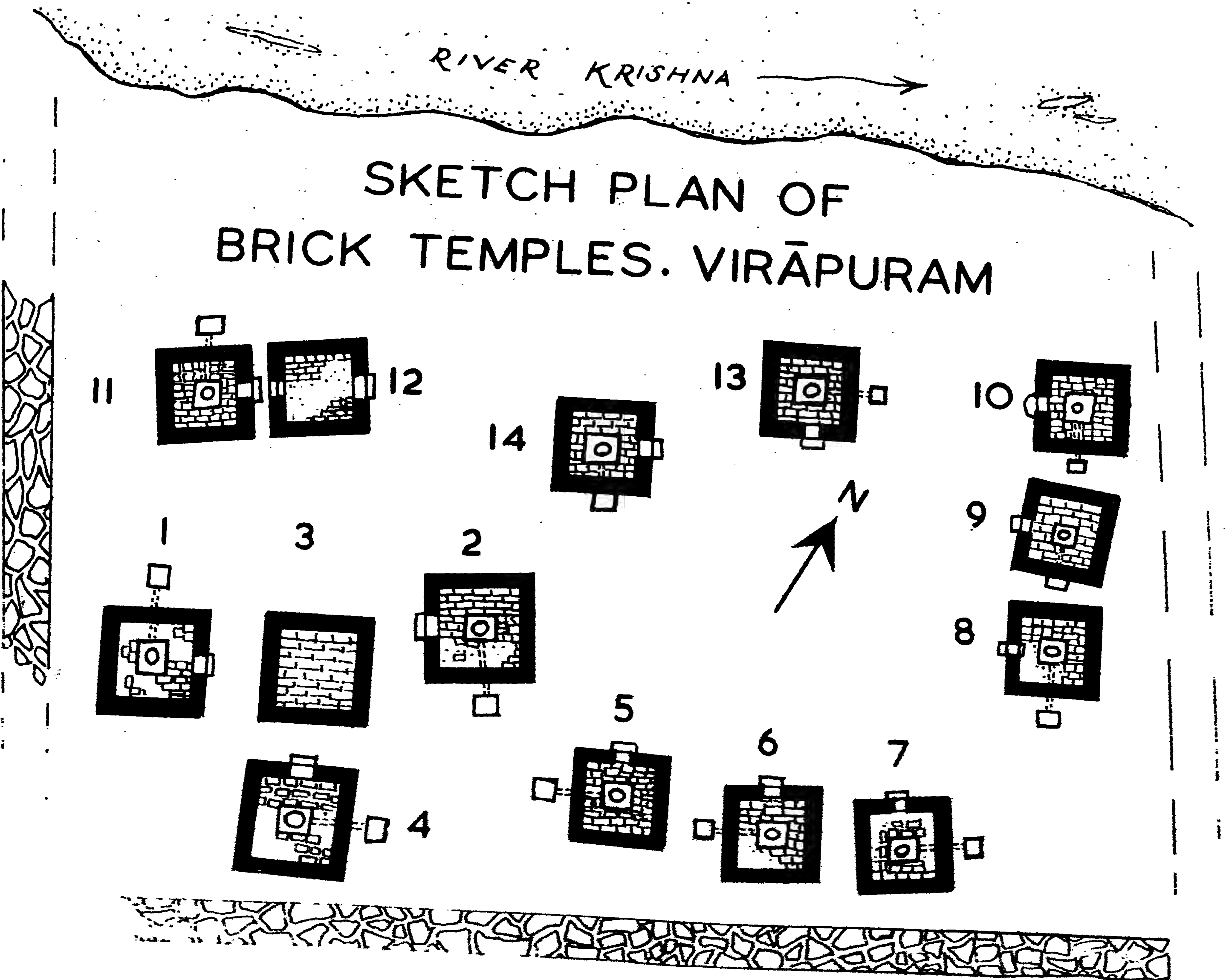
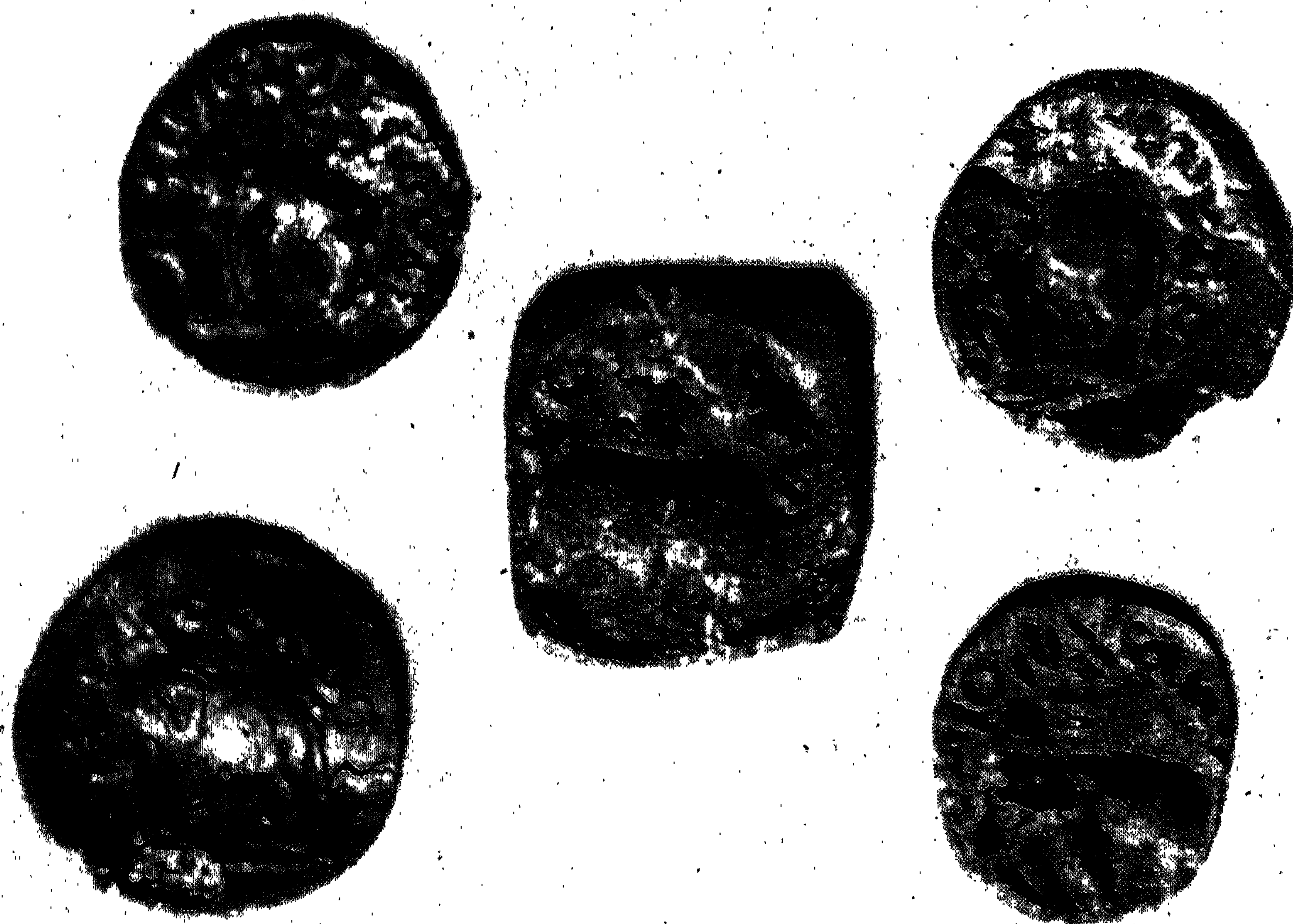

RIVER KRISHNA
SKETCH PLAN OF
BRICK TEMPLES. VIRĀPURAM
N
11
12
14
13
10
9
1
3
2
8
5
6
7
4

Fig. 5



Pl. 4 : Lead coins, 1st - 2nd Centuries A.D. - Veerapuram.



Pl. 5 : Excavated Brick Temple, Rangapur (V), Mahabubnagar District.



Pl. 6(A) : Digging below Southern Prākāra - Kudavellisangameswaram, Mahabubnagar District.



Pl. 6(B) : Brick Temples below the stone temple - Kudavellisangameswaram, Mahabubnagar District.



Pl. 7 : Stone temple and excavated early temples - Siddhesvaram, Kurnool District.



Pl. 8 : Brick temples (Early phase), Siddhesvaram, Mahabubnagar District.

Early Vestiges Of
SAIVITE BRICK TEMPLE AT CHABOLE

- Dr. B.Subrahmanyam

Chabole is a tiny village, situated on the left bank of river Bhavanasi near, Chakratirtha Sangamam. It is 20 kms., away from Nandikotkur. Bus conveyance is available from Nandikotkur to Pothulapadu Head Regulator (Telugu Ganga Project) and from there, the village is within walkable distance of 2 kms.

A minor excavation, conducted at Nagulakatta, a small mound in the outskirts of the village, revealed a brick temple (P1.1). It is a rectangular structure measuring 3 X 5 mts., built in 10 courses of dressed shale stone slabs, to a height of one metre. The structure with a thickness of 0.80 mt., at the south-eastern corner, is intact. Over this structure, was raised another square brick structure, measuring 2.50 X 2.50 mts., to a height of 0.60 mt., with an opening towards east (P1.2) . A large portion of the brick construction is found missing on the western and eastern sides of the structure. Two different sizes of bricks i.e. 54 X 27 X 9cms., and 50 X 24 X 8cms., are used in the construction. Leaving sufficient space for movement on east, west and north, a brick pedestal was built in the centre within the brick structure to instal a Śiva *Linga*. There is a simple *pānavaṭṭa*, made of shale stone slab and probably a pebble i.e., *Linga* might have been preferred for worship. No *pranāla* is noticed. At the south-west corner of the structure, inside the *garbhagṛiha*, lies a big redware storage pot, in damaged condition. The bottom part of the structure, which was built with shale stones, might have served as *adhiṣṭāna* or foundation proper for the brick temple. In front of the structure are big dressed shale stone slabs with post holes, which seem to indicate that the temple possessed a rectangular *mukhamaṇḍapa* with wooden posts and thatched roof.

Over the brick wall is a row of dressed shale stone slabs, neatly paved. This arrangement of slabs with sockets indicates the possible existence of a roof over the temple with wooden posts. While clearing the fallen slabs around the brick structure, was noticed an inscriptional slab engraved in Brahmi characters reading as 'KASIYA GABHA' datable to 1st-2nd centuries A.D.(P1.3) which serves as the only evidence to assign this temple to 2nd-1st c.B.C.

Adjacent to the village, lies an early historical habitation site profusely littered with potsherds, beads of various hues, made of semi - precious stones and terracotta broken figurines. Few sherds of black and redware, blackware and redware also occur on the periphery of the mound.

Similarly at Veerapuram[1], a nearby site, are found in association with the brick temples, a good number of black and redware sherds, rouletted and red slipped wares, besides lead coins of Mahārathi and Sātavāhana, datable to 1st c.A.D. Similar or evolved types of Saivite brick temples, have been reported from Sangameswaram[2], Somaśila, Malleswaram[3], Siddheswaram[4], Rangapuram and Gummadam[5]. All these sites are situated in close proximity to each other and stand perched in the slopes of banks of the rivers Krishna, Tungabhadra and Bhavanasi.

From the above study, it becomes clear that Brāhmanical faith held sway in the middle reaches of the Krishna valley, where as Buddhism had its sway in the lower reaches i.e, coastal belt, in Āndhra Dēśa during the early centuries of Christian era.

An inscription from Sthānakuṇḍūr and coins with images of Skanda and bull, issued by Siri Sātakaṇi indicate that the early Sātavāhanas were devotees of Śiva[6]. Though, the early Sātavāhana rulers were staunch devotees of Saivism, their religious edifices have not been traced so far in coastal Andhra Desa. Excavations at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and Eleswaram revealed only few examples of this class of edifices i.e., religious, remnants of which belong to the Ikshvāku period only and not to the Sātavāhanas. The Sātavāhanas, who patronised Saivism in their early days, could not have stopped abruptly the building of Saivite temples. On the other hand the unending spirit of Saivism and the religious zeal of the Saivites must have prompted them to build their shrines somewhere in holy *saṅgamas*. Thus, they must have existed side by side or separately and grew along with Buddhism, probably in certain distinct geographical zones.

1. *Sastry, T.V.G.*, Kasturi Bai. *M* and Varaprasada Rao J. 1984, *Veerapuram-a-Type site for cultural study in the Krishna Valley*, Hyderabad., pp. 24-25 & 42 & 48.
2. Sastri T.V.G, Kasturi Bai. M.and Varaprasada Rao. *J.* 1985, Personnal communication from J. Varaprasada Rao, Tech. Asst. A.S.I., Hyderabad, A.P.
3. Subrahmanyan *B.*, 1985, *Proto-Historic & Early Historical cultures of Mahbubnagar region* Thesis submitted to Mysore University.
4. Subrahmanyam. *R.*, 1978 *Excavations at Siddheswaram* (Unpublished Report)
5. Krishnam Raju. *G.*, 1981, *Excvations at Gummadam*, Wanaparthy, Mahbubnagar District.
6. Hanumantha Rao. B.S.L., Religion in Andhra, pp. 1 to 8. Guntur, 1973.

EARLY VESTIGES OF SAIVITE BRICK TEMPLE AT CHABOLE

The presence of a good number of Buddhist monuments in the lower reaches of the river Krishna and also in north-east and south-west coastal Āndhra Dēśa, reveals that, the coastal belt flourished as a cradle of Buddhism since its early days. The Sātavāhanas, who ruled over the Āndhra Dēśa during this period i.e., from 1st – 2nd century B.C. witnessed the influence of various religious faiths on the society and hence accepted and patronised Buddhist philosophy on a large scale, considering the inclination of the society towards the newly borne political and social thought of the Buddhist Teachers. Archaeological probings revealed the existence of such Buddhist centres in large numbers, stretching from Bavikonda and Mangamaripet in the northern most coast to Chandavaram in the south and Nandaluru in south-west Andhra Pradesh, with Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda as their central seats.

History never recorded in its pages, the misdeeds committed by the Buddhists against the Hindu or Brāhmanical sects and creeds, right from the early centuries of the Christian era. This raises few basic questions like- 1.What happened to Saivism in the early days, particularly in the coastal belt of Andhra Pradesh? 2.Where did these Saivites concentrate for setting up their establishments and propogate their faith? 3.What were the types of religious structures? These basic questions need convincing archaeological evidence for satisfactory explanation.

To answer these pertinent, but important questions, recent archaeological explorations and excavations conducted in the middle reaches of Krishna-Tungabhadra river valley, now submerged under the Srisailam project, at various places like Veerapuram, Malleswaram, Sangameswaram, Rangapur, Somasila, Siddheswaram provide evidences which brought to light a good number of Saivite brick temples datable to 1st-2nd centuries A.D. comprising of a simple square *garbhagṛiha* with Śiva *Liṅga* in the centre. Perhaps, this prolific and substantial occurrence of brick structures solves the chronic problem to some extent and suggests that, Saivism might have flourished in the mid reaches of Krishna valley in Andhra Pradesh. Especially, the exploratory works held at Chabole further provide early evidence to understand the temple building activity in the region.

Thus, the above archaeological evidence, particularly at Chabole, clearly points out that, Saivism had its early vestiges in Āndhra Dēśa, particularly in the middle reaches of Krishna valley, while Buddhism was dominating the coastal belt of Andhra Pradesh, during the early centuries of Christian Era.



Pl. 1 : General view of the mound, Chabole (V), Kurnool District.



Pl. 2 : Rectangular stone structure with a square brick structure and fallen *Pānavatta*.

THE SCULPTURE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD

-Dr.K. Sundaram

The Sātavāhana dynasty, which ruled from 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D., had left a glorious imprint on the cultural life of ancient India. Their empire stretched from the Deccan to the Coastal Andhra, with capitals at Pratisthānapura and Dhanakaṭaka. The Sātavāhana rulers exerted their utmost to confer the benefits of a good government on the people of their realm and under their patronage, there was an unprecedented economic prosperity. Maritime contacts were maintained with countries beyond India, particularly with Rome. The Sātavāhana rulers also patronized Buddhism, and Buddhist art flourished under their patronage.

The Sātavāhana period is marked by diverse contributions in the realm of art. The art of this period can be seen in the rock-cut sanctuaries of Western India and on the *stūpas* of Coastal Andhra[1]. Some of the early paintings of Ajanta are ascribed to this period[2]. There is inscriptional evidence to show that the sculptors of the Sātavāhana Court worked on the *tōraṇas* of Sanchi[3]. Inspite of these contributions, the best of the period is the sculpture of Amaravati, which can be described as the jewel of a *stūpa*. The best of the Andhra artist is shown here and its influence spread far and wide. Hence the art of the Sātavāhana period becomes a reconsideration of the Amaravati. So much has been written on Amaravati, that it is difficult to offer anything new and spectacular. What is presented here is the author's own experience in the study of the Amaravati art.

The Amaravati *stūpa* belongs to the class of *stupas* known as brick-built *stūpas*. Like the Northern *stūpas*, its vertical elevation consists of *Vēdika*, *Aṇḍa* and *Harmika*, while the lower part of the *stūpa* is covered by marble slabs and the upper part by a plaster, with the designs of a garland pattern. It has a processional path at the base; and

1. *Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas* are to be found in the *Nasik* and Karle caves of Western India. The renovation of *Amarāvati stūpa* can be attributed to the Sātavāhana period on the basis of inscriptions.
2. Paintings of Ajanta No. 19 and 10-See Sri C. Sivarama Murti, *South Indian Painting*.
3. See *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II. *Mauryas* and *Sātavāhanas*. Edited by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, page 690.

another at the beginning of the drum. Facing the steps and leading to the upper processional path, there are platforms known as *Āyaka* platforms, with fine slender pillars. Each part of the *stūpa* is sumptuously decorated. The rails, the foot of the *stūpa*, the *Āyaka* platform and even the upper bend of the *stūpa* are decorated[4].

Though today the *stūpa* is in utter ruinous condition, the sculptures are preserved in the Museums of Madras, London and at Amaravati. From the sculptural details, three different phases can easily be marked. The early phase is that in which the Buddha is represented by only symbols like tree, *chakra* and *stūpa*[5]. This phase is also marked by Yakshiṇi figures and a sculptural panel depicting the figures of a man and a boy. With certainty, we can relate the Yakshiṇi figures to their counterparts found in the sculpture of Bārhut *Stūpa*, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta[6]. In a similar way, the figures of a man and a boy can be likened to those of the country folk, depicted on some of the rock-cut caves of Western India[7]. Thus this sculptured phase can be placed in 2nd century B.C.

The second is the mature and typical phase, where slender long-legged figures are shown in diverse poses. The scene of worship of Buddha, Chakravarti and his queens, and *Jātaka* stories, like Nalagiridamana, belong to this phase; and each medallion is a master-piece. This phase may be assigned to 2nd century A.D.

The third stage is represented by scenes like 'Return to Kapilavastu', 'Carrying the Begging bowl' by Buddha and the like. Here, we see frequent overlapping of figures and the symmetrical and angular presentation of figures. These can be related to Nagarjunakonda and roughly datable to 3rd century A.D.

The subject matter of Amaravati is well-known. Most of the scenes depict the life of Buddha, and the *Jātaka* stories. There are however, a few scenes which depict facets of contemporary life. The early phase is marked by the scene of worship of Buddha. The second phase is characterised by *Jātaka* stories, scenes depicting the royal houses, and

4. The idea about the *stūpa* can be had from the pictures of the *stupa* found on the sculptures. For conjectural restoration, see Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Pl. XXXV.
5. For photos, see Sivarama Murthi *Amaravati Sculptures* in the Madras Museum, and Douglass Barrett, *Sculpture from Amaravati in the British Museum*.
6. *Barua, Barhut*, Vol. IV for Plates VII and VIII.
7. *Comprehensive History of India*, *PL. L XIII.*

miscellaneous scenes. In the final phase, there is dwindling of imagination and there is only mechanical reiteration of the old scenes. The coping stone of the railing always bears the figure of the garland-bearing youth. In the early phase, the nature element predominates and in the second and third phases, the human beings come to the forefront.'

In the sculpture of the first phase, there is rigid presentation of the human figures. The carving is not deep and there is heaviness of human form. In the second phase, there is sharp twist and the artist becomes an expert in handling his material. This may perhaps be due to the influence from Rome. In this phase, the cutting is deep and the human beings are presented in diverse poses. The sculptor adopts various techniques to make the scenes lively and full of spontaneity. In the third phase, the technical skill once again suffers from angularity, repetition and stylization.

It is argued that the technical skill of Amaravati is a logical development from the sculpture of Sanchi. Some scholars argue that such technical devices as the foreshortening and overlapping of the figures are borrowed techniques. This may be true, since there is marked evidence of Roman contact during this period. Indians of this time borrowed techniques from Rome in the making of pottery[8].

In a similar manner, Āndhra artists might have adopted some of the technical devices found in the contemporary Roman art.

In the sculpture of Amaravati, we find a frequent representation of *Nāgas*, worship of *Nāgas* and the figures of Yakshas. Therein, we can find a colourful amalgamation of Buddhism with popular beliefs and cults[9]. The joy of life is represented by the youthful *gaṇas* and the boys carrying the garland depicted on the coping. The depiction of urban life and the sophisticated refinement in dress and ornament definitely owe a great deal to the wealth that flowed into this region under the Sātavāhanas.

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8. See Wheeler and others, Arikimedu, "An Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India, *Ancient India*", No. 2, Pages 17 ff.
9. Sociologists distinguish between higher religion and lower religion. Higher Religion represents the religious ideas of the elite whereas the lower religion that of the masses. At *Amarāvati*, we find the comingling of the two. The higher religion has adopted certain features of the lower in order to make itself popular.

Some of the best scenes from Amaravati are (1) Sujāta offering rice to Buddha, (2) Nalagiri Damana, (3) Chakravarti and his queens, and (4) the Worship of Buddha.

(1) In this scene, the saintly nature of Buddha is represented in a moving manner. In an equally moving manner, the anxiety and the warmth of the devotee is represented. The scene has the precision and depth of ivory carving.

(2) The scene is famous for its dramatic presentation and the unity of composition. In the first half of the scene the weird frenzy of Nalagiri is shown, and in the second is depicted, the taming of the wild elephant by the Buddha. The spectacle of agitated spectators in the first half contrasts well with the peaceful atmosphere restored by the presence of Buddha.

(3) The Chakravarti and his queens are shown in regal pomp and splendour. The aristocratic bearing of the king and sophisticated luxury and languor of the queen is depicted in full. The scenes of this type anticipate the similar ones of Ajanta.

(4) In this scene, the human beings are presented in diverse poses. The spontaneity of veneration for Buddha is clearly shown. The scene clearly recalls to the spectator's mind, people in devout worship of Buddha.

The Buddha is presented both in standing and sitting poses. In one of the sculptures hailing from Madras Museum, he is seen seated on a pedestal, accompanied by his four disciples. He wears monk's *saṅghāṭi*. The right shoulder is left bare. The face is wistful with characteristic half-smile. The head is covered by snail curls. The right hand is in *abhaya*. Carved in background are the *śiraśchakra* and *bōdhi* tree. Flying angels are seen at the top of the panel.

In the evolution of Buddhist art, Amaravati holds a unique place. Buddhist art, which began falteringly at Barhut and attained to steadiness at Sanchi and Mathura, now gains further momentum at Amaravati. Art pulsates with life and becomes a mirror of the contemporary situation. The Buddha figures of Amaravati mode travelled to South-East Asia. Nearer home, the art tradition of Amaravati continued at Ajanta and Mahabalipuram. The Amaravati artist was the first to define beauty in the Indian context and idiom.

The Problem of
SENSUALISM IN SĀTAVĀHANA ART
The Mass Communication Aspect

- Dr.D.N.Varma

Sātavāhana art has been very well studied from the point of view of iconography[1] and from the point of view of art-history[2], describing its birth, development and decline. There are also some scholars who have devoted their attention to psychological comprehension of Indian art, endeavouring to elucidate the peculiarities of the spiritual suppositions which explain the particularity of form[3]. There are some others who have studied the relationship of form to the corresponding spiritual import, as they believed that the peculiarities of a work, as far as form and expression are concerned, cannot be fully comprehended without grasping the relative spiritual import[4].

Taking into consideration all these works, it would appear that no further interpretation of Sātavāhana Art is possible. Yet, the most prominent characteristic of Buddhist art of Sātavāhana times, its sensualism deserves a more elaborate analysis. The beginnings of this sensual aspect of Buddhist art are lost in the dim and distant past, from which little has come down to us, while the closing years of the Sātavāhana rule set into motion, the beginning of a trend in which sensualism was for ever divorced from spiritualism. Yet in the heyday of its glory sensualism and spiritualism went together. Ludwig Bachhofer writing on *"Early Indian Sculpture:"* in 1929 realised the importance of this peculiarity and recorded, "This sensualism - an Indian sensualism - embraces as a spiritual bond productions from Barhut to Amaravati, and represents an inner link which can be broken only at the expense of a clear insight[5]".

While the scholars, one after the other, have recorded, admired, and rejoiced in this sensualism, the reasons which brought it into existence deserve a more detailed analysis. The most accepted reason uptil now is, "Early Indian Plastic art never

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1. Sivaramamurthy, C., *Amravati Sculptures in the Madras* Government Museum, Madras, 1942.
2. Saraswati S.K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture;* New Delhi, 1975.
3. Kramrisch Stella, *Indian Sculpture,* Calcutta, 1933.
4. Bachhofer Ludwig, *Early Indian Sculpture,* Paris, 1929.

imagined man as something separate and isolated from nature[6] ". The sensuality has also been ascribed to the sculptor's heightened empathy for nature and yet, we find that the sculptor, who carved the *Mahāyāna* icons, could communicate the most complex ideas of *Mahāyāna* philosophy without getting involved with nature. The basic enquiry whether this sensuality was intentional or accidental has been avoided. Every artist, while communicating a message through the medium of art, adds something of his own personality to the work of art. This is part of the process of art. Yet there are times when the presentation can be very intentional. Was the sensuouness of Sātavāhana sculptor intentional?

This would require us to have a look at similar art, not executed by the Sātavāhana artists. Writing about the early phase of Barhut art, Bachhofer observes, "The Indian People did not find it easy to express its view of the visible world. The tone is sober and restrained, the speech is clumsy and brief, and by the side of the royal pathos of the Mauryan period, the words sound harsh and almost embarrassed. The royal busts, the Yakshas and Yakshinis were certainly so conceived as they affect us today, namely, as sublime and above every day life. But the same atmosphere of detached repose is also noticeable in the *Jātaka* narratives, and here it must particularly be pointed out that the representations, which have a highly dramatic character as well as those which are decidedly humorous, frequently even with a very unequivocal point in their humour, are related in the same tone"[7].

On the contrary, at Amaravati, the approach of the artist is entirely different. In the words of S.K. Saraswati, "In delineating such themes he does not hesitate even to go beyond the liturgical conventions. The real tenor of the legend is concealed behind a description of life in an affluent and aristocratic society or of the joys of wordly existence. And what a rich description it is! Every scene seems with youthful forms of artistocratic build in all possible attitudes and bends. The tall, slender and attenuated forms jostle one another. The smooth and resilient flesh, seemingly pleasurable to the touch, lends a senuous effect to the figures. This is more so with regard to the delicate and alluring female forms with their full busts, slender waists, heavy hips, coquettish

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6. Coomaraswamy, A.K; *Transformation of nature in art*, reprinted, New Delhi, 1972.
7. Bachhofer, *Op. Cit.* p. 21.

countenances and almost serpentine suppleness[8]". Coomaraswamy puts it more concisely when he describes Amaravati art as, "the most voluptuous and the most delicate flower of Indian sculpture[9]". Stella Kramrisch summarises the wildest transports of joys alternating with outbursts of violent passion into, "intensified instances of life[10]" and Bachhofer contrasts it with later spiritual atmosphere, when he says. "A violent sense for everything terrestrial manifests itself, as if Indian art had taken leave of this world with a tumultuous feast, before deliberately entering the cold fields of spirituality[11]". Bachhofer wonders whether the ideal was of a disciplined life and worldly renunciation and appears to be perplexed at, "how religion is being used as a pretext for the purpose of singing a wildly enthusiastic, rapturous paeon of worldly life[12]". S.K. Saraswati is almost apologetic when he states, "There is no doubt that this art is sensuous and even frankly so. But compared to the unabashed lewdness of the Mathura school, the sensuousness of Amaravati seems to be more refined and more restrained. Amaravati art is undoubtedly saturated with a naive paganism. But it is the innocent delight and joyous freshness which the artist aims to depict in his female forms of Botticellian grace and elegance. What the artist tries to express is the love of life and the joy of existence[13]".

One wonders, what happened to the tragedy of existence which caused prince Siddhārtha to renounce his princely pleasures; The tragedy of old age had also made a deep impression on the mind of prince Siddhārtha but the Veṅgī artists always show a preference for youthful forms in the height of their vigour and elegance. The keeping of focus away from old age also appears to be almost intentional. Obviously the artists took every care to keep the tragic aspects of life away from public gaze and highlighted only the joys and delights that pervaded this worldly life and existence. There can hardly be any doubt, therefore, that the joy and delight of Sātavāhana art has a greater purpose than the mere love of life of the sculpture. A whole community which provided the patronage - the king and the queen, the *śreṣṭhins* and the common folk must have been thrilled with this form of art and should have called the tune and the Hinayāna

8. Saraswati S.K., *Op. Cit.* p. 88.
9. Coomaraswamy A.K; *History if Indian And Indonesian Art,* p. 71.
10. Stella Kramrisch; *Indian Sculpture;* Calcutta, 1933, p 47.
11. Bachhofer *Op. Cit.* p. 55.
12. *Ibid,*
13. Saraswati, *Op. Cit.* p. 88.

monk must have given his tacit concurrence. In course of time, the monks too learnt to appreciate the purpose of life and rejoiced in embellishing the *chaityas*. In fact one sect, of Buddhism styled itself as *Chaitya Vandakas*.

One way to comprehend this phenomenon is to note the correspondence between the modern mass media and early Buddhist art. By mass media, we are prone to conjure up the vision of a rotary press running at break-neck speed, an array of newspapers and magazines and of radio and television. The paintings and sculptures of Sātavāhana times appear to be anachronism in this context. Yet when we go to the fundamentals, we would realise that in India there has been more in common between the early Buddhist art and the modern concepts of mass media than we recognise at first sight. After all mass media only permeates some information, ideas and attitudes to more and more people. In fact the earliest art of historical times in our country was not created merely to give expression to the creative urges of painters and sculptors, but to propagate religious ideas and attitudes in a big way. The Sātavāhana art represents the culmination of this concept. However, we will have to start at the beginning to comprehend fully the significance of the sensuous element in Sātavāhana art even if it involves a little digression.

The attempt to communicate the tenets of religion on a mass scale found its first expression in oral word and then in the written word. Aśōka the Great was the first emperor to conceive the idea of propagating Buddhism through the spoken word and he appointed *Dharma Mahāmātyas* for the purpose of addressing individuals and groups and for making them aware of his ideas. It is obvious that very soon he became aware of the limitations of the spoken word and thought of experimenting with the written word. His message was virtually broadcast all over his realm through the medium of his rock and pillar edicts. Art got associated with the propagation of religion right from this time, for the Asokan pillars or the *lāṭas* as they are usually termed, had some art motifs on their capitals. Even while using the written word for communication, art was being used to attract the audience and to communicate through a symbol the majesty of the Buddha.

The limitations of the written word must have been realised soon, specially in an age when paper and ink had not been discovered. The written word presupposes

literary which has hardly ever been the strong point of the common man of India. The efficacy of the written word further suffers on account of the regional variations of languages. It is not surprising therefore that the protagonists of the faith did not get another royal personage to issue edicts after Aśōka, but turned their attention towards art for propagating the faith, crossing the barriers of diverse languages and literacy.

The Impact of Art

The effective use of symbolic motifs on the Aśōkan columns appears to have left deeper impressions on the consciousness of the communicator. The animals on the columns, the lion, the elephant, the bull and the horse, had been associated with the Buddha and the people understood the symbolism. At Sarnath and Sanchi, two symbols were combined on the Aśōkan column and the Wheel of the Law was held aloft by four lions set back to back. The idea that the lion of the Sakya race turned the Wheel of Law in all the four cardinal directions had found a visual representation and the people understood it.

The paradox was that the people did not understand the free standing Aśōkan pillar. The mode of representation of the animal capital with the Bactrian or Iranian visualisation, if not execution, also did not endear itself to the people. The message was for the people but neither by the people nor of the people. For a more satisfactory communication, the setting had to be chosen more thoughtfully and the people too had to be involved. The problem in effect was, where to set up the centre for communication and ensure attendance of the people

A Centre for Communication

Fortunately, the Buddha himself had indirectly pointed out the most effective centre for the artist to function, when he suggested the setting up of memorial monuments primarily of spiritual, if not, of artistic significance. In the famous dialogue with Ānanda shortly before his death, he had suggested that *stūpas*, earthen mounds containing his relics, be erected at the places of his birth, enlightenment, first Sermon and final demise[14]. He knew that the people approached these places with reverence, for, the peace itself, stirred up deep feelings and emotion. He had also said

14. Rhys Davids, *Dialogue of the Buddha,* II, p. 156.

that whosoever shall place on the *stūpa*, garlands or perfumes or incense or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart-that shall for long be to them a profit and joy[15]. The dialogue, thus not only indicated a centre to be frequented by the faithful, but also hinted at the possibility of embellishment of that centre. In course of time, congregation halls for the Buddhist monks, known as *chaityas* came to be created with a *stūpa* inside the hall.

In fact, Buddha had taken his cue from an earlier practice. Shrines (*chaityas*) existed already for the worship of Yakshas as tutelary deities in various parts of India long before the advent of Buddha. The tribes and the *janapadas* and even the villages had their own shrines which they were required to honour, worship and support. Thus, the communicators had little hesitation in choosing the *chaitya* as the centre for their communication.

Involvement of People

The popularity of such a centre was further increased by embracing the Yakshas and Yakshinis in the fold of Buddhism. The *chaityas* without the Yakshas and Yakshinis, otherwise, would have remained beyond the comprehension of the populace. The people further got involved with the *Chaityas* when they found that they could contribute to its embellishment. Unlike the monolithic column, it was no more the will of an emperor imposed upon the people, but involved the participation of the people. The petty shop-keeper and the humble merchant, the shoe-maker, the mason and the perfume-seller could as much participate in the embellishment of the *Chaitya* as a queen;[16]. The decorations on such *chaityas* had to be carried on by the craftsmen of the people and not the royal sculptor. True, the people's craftsmen had familiarity only with the terracotta, wood and ivory carving and had no experience in carving stone, but it was hoped that they would gain experience in carving stone in course of time which actually they did. Thus, the communicators ensured a suitable mental climate for the reception of the message.

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15. *Ibid*
16. Nigam M.L, *Sculptural Heritage of Āndhradēśa*, Hyderabad, 1975, p. 34.

Content of the Message

The next problem should have been the content of the message. They must have known that it could not be the obtruse philosophy of the thinkers with all the complex logic and rhetoric. Once again they took their guidance from the Buddha himself. It is only too well known that Buddha rarely involved himself with the complexities of philosophy. His teachings had simple ethical content, in keeping with the mental limitations of the majority of his followers, who expected simple rules of conduct from him. Buddha prescribed these rules of conduct in his eight-fold path. The idea was that, those who were to follow these rules of conduct would attain cessation of desire which would free them from the cycle of birth and death and hence from all sorrow Naturally he valued highly the qualities of self-sacrifice, non-possession, good character and truth.

The Jātaka Stories

Indeed there was not much of philosophical abstraction in such a gospel but all the same, it was not easy to communicate such injunctions in a gripping manner. Gautama Buddha himself was a communicator par-excellence and invented a wonderful device for the communication of these abstract ideals for his followers. The device consisted of weaving these virtues into the *Jātaka* stories or the stories of the previous births of Buddha and presupposed that all our good and bad actions in the current life follow us up in our future lives. Spiritual perfection does not come easily. An aspirant after spiritual perfection, therefore, continues his efforts for several births, till he reached his aim. The Buddha was never tired of telling his disciples how he himself struggled upwards through many births and invariably these stories extolled the virtues which Buddha wanted his disciples to cultivate. Fortunately for the communicators, these stories were recorded after the demise of the Buddha and were available to them when they started looking for some suitable message to be communicated.

These stories were also adopted as folk-lores and were popular with the masses for about three hundred years before the communicators at Barhut and Sanchi in central India undertook to give them a plastic representation and the painters painted them on the walls of Ajanta *chaityas* in Western India. A study of the later Indian didactic poetry reveals that the moral narratives, sayings and pious legends of the *Jātaka* tales were not

the exclusive property of any particular religion, though the hero was always a Bodhisattva. As such the *Jātaka* stories must have been fresh in the minds of the people when the artists took to their visual representation.

While the Buddha realised that these stories were good for oral communication, he could have had strong inhibitions against their visual representation. He had in his repertoire some five hundred of such stories and while he communicated them orally he could get the feed back also. He must have known that the primary message of the stories, the development of the qualities of self-sacrifice, generosity and truthfulness, could very easily get contorted by the very impact of the other elements of the story. Besides, it could lead to the development of a personality cult. Even while consenting to the raising of memorials at the four sacred-spots, he had cautioned Ānaṅda,"Hinder not yourselves, Ānaṅda, by honouring the remains of the *Tathāgata*. Be zealous, I beseech you, Ānaṅda in your own behalf"[17]. In effect it meant that paying homage to the shrine of Buddha must not excuse the monk from his own spiritual exercises. Throughout his life he condemned the tendency on the part of his devotees and disciples to build up a cult of personal worship around him and gave importance only to his teachings and the personal efforts and spiritual exercises of his followers. It were his ideas, and not his image, which deserved adoration.

Inhibitions against Art

As a logical extension of this attitude, Buddha found himself against any form of visual representation. In the "Sutta of the Five Bolts" the Buddha discussed the five bondages of the mind from which every monk had to free himself in order to achieve the highest goal and included the visible form-*Rūpa* in it. The other undesirable things were sexual pleasure, the body, the wealth and super human powers[18]. The thinkers of the Hīnayāna school naturally regarded both Art and the cultivation of Beauty as inimical to the practice of spiritual discipline and their monuments had little room for the visual arts. The artists were the purveyors of sensuous luxuries which impeded spiritual progress. The *Visuddhi-māgga* treats the artists as undesirable stimulators of sensations, excited by forms and other objects of sense". The *Chuḷḷavagga*[19] forbids

17. Rhys Davids, *Op. Cit.* p. 154.
18. Chelakhila Sutta, *Majhima Nikāya*, pp. 101-104.
19. *Chuḷḷavagga,* VI, 3.2.

the adorning of the monastery walls with figures of men and women and the *Milinda Panho* includes among the list of undesirable gifts, the productions of Pictorial Art. In a passage in *Suttanipāta*, it is pointed out that the "objects of senses are variegated, sweet and attractive, and in their transfigured forms pulverise the mind"[20]. Several other passages in the same text preach against snares of Beauty. The Buddhist Hīnayānist doctrine, indeed, definitely shut the door against any form of Visual Arts. The prejudice appears to have extended itself to the sensuous appeal of even the lyrical poetry.

The Entry of Art in Monuments

Yet, the visual arts found their way in the *chaitya*. It was felt that, if their sensory appeal stood in the way of personal spiritual progress of some of the *arhatas*, this very appeal could draw a far larger number of people within the folds of Buddhism. The poet Aśvaghōsha acquaints us indirectly with this point of view in the apologies which he offers for using the incidents of the life of Buddha in his epic poem *Saundarānanda Kāvya*. He says, "This poem, dealing thus with the theme of Salvation, has been composed in the frame of classical poetry not to give pleasure, but to further, the attainment of tranquility and with the intention of attracting hearers devoted to other topics"[21] .Thus in the final analysis, the capability of attracting others overweighed all possible disqualifications of the visual arts as well. The more orthodox might have stuck to their views, but more and more monks gave their tacit concurrence to the popular demands of the visual representation of the major events of the Master's life and of the *Jātaka* stories in the precincts of the *chaitya*. It was under these circumstances that the narrative sculpture was evolved and found its place on the railing posts of the *stūpas* at Barhut in Central India and on the railings and gateways of the *stūpa* at Sanchi, again in Central India.

Now that it has been seen, that, the communication of religious ideas and propagation of the Buddhist faith was a greater concern of the *chaitya* art than purely artistic intentions it may be pertinent to visualise the phenomenon from the point of view of mass communication. This is specially necessary for comprehending the

20. *Sutta-nipāta* (T.S. II, p. 50, p. 264).
21. Gangoly O.C, *Andhra Sculptures,* Hyderabad, 1973, p.2.

Sātavāhana sensuouness as the paradigm of art does not provide a satisfactory explanation.

In recent years, the thinker Marshal Mc. Luhan became famous for his dictum"the medium is the message", which summed up his view of the communication technology on human personality and imagination[22]. According to Mc. Luhan, the medieval European University became obsolete with the emergence of printed book and the Modern University came into being in the 16th century, because of the invention of printing only. Printing technology not only changed the method of instruction and the form of presentation but changed the nature of what was being taught and what the University intended to teach. The new learning, according to Mc.Luhan, had little to do with renaissance or with the revival of interest in antiquity and the rediscovery of the classical writers, or even with astronomy, geographic discovery, or new science. On the contrary, these great events of intellectual history were themselves results of Gutenberg's new technology. Movable type, rather than Petrarch, Copernicus or Columbus, was the creator of the modern world view. Printing not only influenced the course in Universities and the role of the Universities in the society but it actually determined both. In other words, it was printing which determined what was going to be considered knowledge.

Once again the truth of the dictum,"media is the message" can be seen in the influence T.V. is exercising on our lives. Television and the 'media' altogether - have been changing what is being communicated and not merely how. They have not only been changing our perception of the outside world but also how we see ourselves and what we see in ourselves.

Perhaps, the interaction between the 'medium' and the 'message' is more profound that Mc. Luhan's aphorism has it. Perhaps neither determines the other completely; both influence or shape each other. In any case this much is certain that technology, apart from being a tool, is also an extension of the man who invents it and uses it. It cannot be the man's master, but it certainly can change his personality. If man can do new things, he also changes himself to be in a position to enjoy the benefits of his new powers.

22. Drucker P.F., *Two Prophets of Our Age.*, The American Review Sprint, 1980, pp. 63-64.

An application of this theory to the problem of communication in Buddhist art would make it abundantly clear that changes in the form of Buddhist philosophy were bound to come not withstanding all the protestations of the austere *Hīnayāna* monks. The day people had a glimpse of three dimensional visual capitals on the top of the Aśōkan columns, the process of change was set in motion. The animals on the top involved the people more than all the written message on the body of the column. With the application of the continuous narrative in relief sculpture and frescoes in the decoration of the *chaityas* more and more people got involved what Buddhism had to offer. The Amaravati sculptor and the Ajanta painter knew better than the austere monk as to what would sustain the people's interest and eventually the medium itself influenced the message, if not determined it.

Of all the obtruse Buddhist philosophy, the artist chose only the picturesque themes. The Ajanta artist of the Sātavāhana times had a genius or visualising woman as an embodiment of beauty and introducing her in the panels in the most imaginative manner. They depicted women forming rings like garlands round the princes, embellishing their palace scenes, dominating their street scenes, crowding the windows of their cities and perhaps sometimes for the sheer joy of painting a woman without any religious or literary significance.

They painted women as *Apsaras* floating in the air; they depicted them as sirens luring the ailors to their doom and as mortals engaged in toilet, repose, sitting, standing and gossipping. They studied woman with the keenest interest and struggled to reproduce every glance of her eye. Not only the individual figures and the group of figures in the *Jātaka* illustrations tell their stories but even the tilt of the head, the positioning of the body and the gestures of the lands are eloquent. One has to see these paintings to believe how mere gesturing of hands and the posture of the body can successfully convey the emotions of love, affection, disgust, cruelty and tranquility.

Similarly, while commenting upon the feminine forms in Amaravati sculptures, O.C.Gangooly draws our attention to literary parallels from Aśvaghōṣa and others. Some of these parallels are "their bodies bent down under the load of their breasts", "the damsels were delayed in their movements by the weight of their chariot-like hips and full breasts"; "the necklaces thrown in disorder by their heaving busts", and "in slender

bodies like a bow". Gangoly suggests that it were the sculptures which inspired the literary descriptions of Ashvaghōsha. If it is so, is it not the case of the visual medium influencing the written? However, the controversy is not whether the Sculptures inspired the poet or the poet inspired the sculpture but how the austere Buddhist monk found himself in such lively surroundings.

It would thus be apparent that the animated and lively works of Sātavāhana artists came into existence not merely as a result of the artist's close observation of nature or due to empathy with nature but on account of some inherent laws of mass communication.

The credit for this successful advertising and communication goes to the new technology of narrative sculptural and painted panels, introduced in the Buddhist *vihāras* and *chaityas*. The Buddhists also changed their personality to be in a position to enjoy the benefits of their new power and thus came into existence a new school of Buddhists, the *chaitya* - Vandakas, in the Andhra region. One thing is certain that the aspect of mass communication also holds the key to quite a few enigmas of Indian art history.

The aspect of mass communication may or may not provide a final answer to the problem of sensualism in Sātavāhana art but goes without saying that this phenomenon, forms a lively chapter of the history of Indian Art . That the sculptured reliefs of Amaravati and paintings in Caves IX and X at Ajanta admirably succeeded in spreading and propagating the doctrine goes without saying. These centres of Buddhism in the erstwhile Āndhra Dēśa, with their sculptured galleries and painted *chaityas* kept on attracting the faithful lay-believers from all corners of the country for many centuries and continue to do so even to-day.

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23. *Time*, January 12, 1981, Vol. 117, No. 2, p. 27.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA COINAGE

- Dr. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry

Scholars hold different views with regard to the vital issues concerning the history of the Sātavāhanas, viz. their origin, their chronology, their polity, identity of certain members bearing the same names and lastly the attribution of coins precisely to the proper king. As the scope of the present paper pertains to the last mentioned point, it is the intention of the writer to be brief in describing some important results obtained so far about the coins of the Sātavāhana kings. Chronologically their coins are divisible into two distinct groups, namely, those of the early rulers and those of the latter rulers. Till recent times, the former group remained scanty in number when compared with the second group[1]. But recent discoveries have brought to light a good number of coins of the early kings also.

According to the stratigraphic sequence revealed in the Nevasa excavations, the Bull type coin of Sātakarṇi, found in the lowest layer 12 of Tr. E is considered to be the earliest Sātavāhana coin type, which was followed by the Elephant type. The two types were again adopted by Sātakarṇi, whose coins also were encountered in layer 8 of the same Tr. E. It is held by P.L. Gupta and A.M.Shastry, in the same context that the Sātavāhana epoch could not be earlier than the first century B.C[2]. But I.K. Sarma is categorical in refuting the views of the above scholars and holds that the coins of Sātakarṇi should be dated not later than the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C. and accordingly he sticks to the theory of the Sātavāhana epoch to that period[3]. Thus, even the excavation sequence, like palaeography, is not of much use in resolving the long standing controversy regarding the Sātavāhana chronology, the range of difference being nearly two centuries. Further, Dr. Gupta, basing on the coins with legends Rāṇō and without Rāṇō, suggests that the two Sātakarṇis and two Sātavāhanas were almost contemporaneous.

1. A.M. Shastry (Ed). *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins From Excavations* paper by P.L. Gupta, pp. 135-6;
2. I.K. Sarma, *Coinage of The Sātavāhana empire,* pp. 77-78; A.M. Shastry (Ed), *Op. Cit.* p. 139 and p. 107.
3. I.K. Sarma, *Op. Cit.* p. 32.

In the recent years, another potential site viz. Kotilingala in the Karimnagar district, A.P., situated on the right bank of river Godavari, has been excavated by the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Andhra Pradesh. The much expected results of the excavations are yet to be published. The site has yielded several hundreds of coins of different authorities as surface finds and much less, in excavation sequence. Perhaps this is the only site in the Deccan, where no less than a dozen rulers are represented by their coins, besides the silver and copper punch-marked coins and uninscribed coins. Geographically, the place seems to have been situated on the grand trade route from the north via, south Kōsala to Dhānyakaṭaka and Vijayawada. It was also a fortifed town of the pre-Sātavāhana and early Sātavāhana age.

Sātavāhana Coin Type

Scholars have broadly divided the Sātavāhana coins into several types basing on the main symbol on the obverse, namely 1.Bull; 2.Elephant; 3.Homo; 4. Hill; 5. Lion; 6. Horse; 7. Chakra; 8. Ship; 9. Portrait and 10.Tree, etc., with some auxiliary symbols.

The reverse side of the Sātavāhana coins contains generally the so called *Ujjain* symbol in different forms or occasionally tree on some early coins. Portrait coins in silver with bilingual legends have come to light from several places in the Deccan. They were the issues of the latter Sātavāhanas. Ship type cions were issued by Puḷumāvi II and Yajña Sātakarṇi and most of these coins are found in the coastal districts of Andhra and Tamilnadu. Homo type coins are found in Tripuri and few other places in Madhya Pradesh and they contained the legend Rāṇō Siri Satasa. He is identified with Kumāra Sāti-one of the sons of Sātakarṇi and Nāganika and the younger brother of Vēdiśrī. No other king among the Sātavāhanas is known to have issued Homo type coins. Lion type is known on the coins of Sātakarṇi (and Sāti ?) among the early members and those of Puḷumāvi II and others among the latter members. Horse type is common with the coins of many of the latter members. Bull type coins were issued by Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi of the early members.

Elephant and Hill types are very common, particularly the former is the most dominating of all the types and issued by almost all the kings. There are few rare types

namely one coin with camel[4], one coin with rhinoceros[5], few coins with *chakra* and few coins with Lakshmi (?). Hill is represented in three, six or ten arches with crescent above.

Among the auxiliary symbols, Siri Sātavāhana at Kotilingala adopted most of the symbols used by Rāño Sāmi gōpa, leaving bow and arrow and the six-armed circle. They are triangle-headed symbol, *swastika*, tree, three-arched hill, bull to left, and composite *nandipāda* on the reverse. In the place of six-armed circle he used Ujjain symbol. On their latter coins a composite Ujjain symbol consisting of four small ones with *swastikas* in corners was adopted as reverse symbol in place of earlier composite *nandipāda*. This is the peculiarity of the Kotilingala Sātavāhana coins. But only a part of that composite symbol is visible on the coins[6].

Triangle headed symbol was reduced to a smaller size and placed on the back of the elephant, the type symbol of the place, with another symbol, either *swastika* or *Śrīvatsa* or *Nandipāda*. Tree in railing, three arched hill and wavy line(s) with dots, representing river are other symbols. Taurine symbol is also noticeable on some coins.

Sātavāhana coins in Andhra Pradesh are found at several places. Kondapur, Peddabankur, Kotilingala. Dhulikatta, Akkaram, Amaravati, Vaddamanu, and several other places. Coins of the early kings are not found in the coastal districts. In Telangana, several hundreds of coins of the early members namely Sātavāhana, Sātakarṇi, Chimuka Sātakarṇi II and Puḷumāvi have been found. A single coin of Kumāra-Sāta is reported from the excavation site at Satanikota, on the right bank of the river Tungabhadra, Kurnool district. Very recently a clay sealing of Satisa is known in the collection of Dr.Amjad Ali, Warangal. Besides the legend, the sealing contains the regal symbols of *śrīvatsa, triratna, swastika* and the Brāhmi *ma* (taurine). Thus, all the early members of the family are represented in the region by their coins and the sealing. Of all these finds, those of Kondapur and Kotilingala are of special importance, as both the sites seem to be minting places. Among the antiquities found in Kondapur excavations, clay moulds for casting coins are found. At Kotilingala several discarded coin pieces with fresh chippings are found. The series of coins found here reveals some characteristic features applicable only to a particular mint.

4. M. Ramarao, *Catalogue of Sātavāhana Coins in A.P. Govt. Museum,* pp. 32-33 No. 13.
5. Collection from Kotilingala - Unpublished.
6. I owe this view to Dr. P.L. Gupta in a personal letter

Brahmapuri near Kolhapur and Chandravalli in Karnataka yielded coins of only the later Sātavāhana coins. Some non-Sātavāhana coins were found at both the places in earlier levels. Coins of Mulānanda, Mahārathi kuṛa, Mādharīputra Śivalakuṛa and Vāsisṭhīputra Viḷivāyakuṛa, have been discovered at Brahmagiri in levels lower than the Sātavāhana level which yielded coins of.... *putasa, Siri Sātakaṇi* and *Rañño Siri Yaṇa Sātakaṇi*[7]. Basing on this stratigraphical evidence P.L. Gupta thinks that, the latter Sātavāhanas supplanted the Kura kings in the region. Similarly the earliest strata at Chandravalli yielded along with some uninscribed coins, the coins of Sadakaṇa Kaḷālaya and his family. In the upper levels, coins of Siri Yaṇa Sātakaṇi and Puḷumāvi along with the Roman *denarius* of Tiberius (26-37 A.D.) are found. Basing on this associate coin, Gupta is inclined to date the coins of Yaṇa Sātakaṇi to some time in the first century A.D. However, he states that it needs further probe[8]. In both the cases, the learned scholar gives us the sequence of family successions, in terms of general chronology. The first century A.D. in the case of the coins of Yaṇa Sātakarṇi found at Chandravalli is subjected to further probe, obviously for the reason that the date of Yajña Sātakarṇi by any method of computation cannot be shifted from second century A.D[9]. Another point to be noted about the two sites is that uninscribed coins being found in the lower layers are to be considered as preceding the inscribed ones.

Nevasa is another site in Ahmadnagar district, Maharashtra, which is considered to be one of the most scientifically excavated sites. It yielded, besides few uninscribed coins, several Sātavāhana coins. As in the case of Brahmapuri and Chandravalli, the uninscribed coins are assigned to the lower layers where no Sātavāhana coins are found. From the Sātavāhana coins P.L.Gupta finds two Sātakarṇis and two Sātavāhanas viz[10]. 1. Siri Sātakarṇi I; 2. Siri Sātavāhana I - Bull Type and 3. Siri Sātakarṇi II; Siri Sātavāhana II - Elephant type. Interestingly he finds another Sātavāhana without any prefix, but with lion motif.

7. A.M. Shastry (Ed)., *Op. Cit.*, p. 130.
8. *Ibid* p. 131.
9. O. Ramachandraiah C.A.D. 129-158.
I.K. Sarma C.A.D. 165-194.
D.C. Sircar C.A.D. 174-203.
V.V. Mirashi C.A.D. 170-198.
10. A.M. Shastry (Ed)., *Op. Cit.*, pp. 135-140.

Then he identifies a coin of Chanda-Tarahala Elephant type with legend - ño Sātakaṇisa on the obverse and ujjain symbol with crescent on the reverse. This coin of the Nevasa excavation has been attributed by him to a later Sātavāhana king. Basing on these coin types he gives us the following chronology:

a) uninscribed coins from bottom layer to second-first century B.C.

b) Inscribed Sātavāhana coins to first century B.C. or at the most to the last part of second century B.C. (at one end and to the time of the latter kings i.e. second century A.D.).

c) At the top, the Sātavāhana coins were sealed at Nevasa as well as Brahmapuri by the Vishṇukuṇḍi coins. But finally disagreeing with the views of the excavators, Gupta tries to fix the beginning of the Period IV where Sātavāhana coins were found at Nevasa to first century A.D. Prof. A.M. Sastry also in a different way arrives at the same conclusion. I.K.Sharma, as said before, contradicts both the views and tries to push back the date to 3rd century B.C.

The only excavated site in Andhra where stratigraphic sequence is obtained is at Kotilingala. The excavation report is yet to be published. Sri Thakur Raja Ram Singh, who is closely associated with the excavations, has recently presented a paper entitled 'The pre-Sātavāhana Āndhra Kings of Central Godavari Valley; The Āndhra Kings of Asmaka - Mūḷaka' in the seminar held at Warangal in February, 1987. The paper deals with some layer wise distribution of the excavated mound and the coin finds therein. According to his version, from layer 4, at a depth of 1.68 mts. in a trench, coins of Mahātalavara and Rāño Samagōpa were found. The coins of Rāño Gōbadha were found at a depth of 1.15 mts. with legend and 1.30 mts. without legend. It is not understandable, which coins are with legends and which coins are without legends. He also states that a broken coin of this king was found at a depth of 1.70 mts. which means the lowest level. On this basis, can we understand that Gōbadha coin, though in a broken condition, preceded the coins of Mahātalavara and Rāño Samagōpa? Further he did not mention in his paper the discovery of any uninscribed coins at any level. They were found on the surface. Similarly he did not say anything about the stratigraphy of the punch-

marked coins. But he said that coins of Rāño Sebaka are found in the pre-Sātavāhana level.

Coins of Siri Sātavāhana were found at 1.38 mts. depth and coins of Siri Sātakarṇi were found at 1.22 mts. depth. Coins of Rāño Siri Chimuka Sātavāhana were found at 0.35 mt. depth in layer 2. At the same level he reports the coins of Siri Nāraṇa, a non Sātavāhana king. He says that the trenches were laid on the even ground of the same contour line, so to say his confidence about the said levels.

Basing on the stratigraphical evidence thus obtained he, concludes that the coins of Rāño Sebaka, Rāño Samagōpa, Mahātalavara and probably Rāño Gōbadha are earlier than the coins of Siri Sātavāhana and Siri Sātakarṇi. The coins of Chimuka are comparatively very late. He further states that Nevasa evidence begins from the ivory seal of Kaṇha and the coins of Rāño Siri Sātakaṇi and Rāño Siri Sātavāhana and ends with the coins of the latter Sātavāhana kings and the Vishṇukuṇḍi kings, whereas Kotilingala provides us with the evidence pertaining to the pre-Chimuka rulers of Andhra.

But among the surface finds we get coins of Chimuka's successors namely Sātakarṇi II and Puḷumāvi I also, both of elephant types.

In this context it is necessary to know few more points about the coins found on the surface of the Kotilingala site.

a) They are in several hundreds and still coin collectors are purchasing them from the agricultural labourers who gather them in the course of weed removing operation in the fields.

b) Most of the coins are of copper or potin squares, weights ranging from 0.8 gram to 3.5 grams approximately. Lead coins and round shaped ones are very few.

c) Tree with five leaves with or without railing is noticed on most of the coins.

d) Elephant or bull stands or walks invariably to the left, trunk hanging and raised.

e) On the reverse of the earliest coins is a composite symbol of four *nandipādas* in double lines, placed around a double lined circle. Siri Sātavāhana issued small coins of about 0.9 gram weight with single lined composite *nandipāda* on the reverse, with tree and three arched hill on the observe. All other Sātavāhana coins found here contain a composite Ujjain symbol, that is four ujjain symbols placed two in two rows with *swastikas* on all corners, and small circles within each orb. But only a part of such composite symbol is noticeable on the coins, the flans being smaller.

f) The suffix Rāñō is noticed on some Gōbadha coins, many Samagōpa coins, and only two Sātakaṇi coins of rare types, one with rhinoceros and the other with partly visible elephant trunk to the right. These two last mentioned coins seem to be intruders from outside.

g) Mahātalavara coins seem to have preceded the Sātavāhana coins. They are of horse and elephant types, both to the left. The elephant with upraised trunk is exactly similar to that found on the Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi coins. Reverse symbols are, from left, tree without railing, above *swastika* and the so called *vajra* or two Brāhmi letters *ya* placed vertically opposite to each other: and scepter like weapon vertically placed.

h) Siri Sātavāhana and Siri Sātakarṇi do not have the prefix Rāñō on their coins, whereas the legend on the coins of Chimuka reads as Rāñō Siri Chimuka Sātavāhanasa.

i) The coins of Puḷumāvi are not reported from the excavations. But they are available in few dozens as surface finds. Rāñō Siri Puḷumāvisa is the full legend. All are Elephant types with trunk hanging and *Śrīvatsa* and triangle-headed symbols as auxiliary symbols. They are small coins of about one gram weight.

j) Coins of Mahāsēnāpati Sagamāna found on the surface are also not reported from the excavation finds. They contain big *swastika* and the legend on its four sides on the obverse and three arched hill and tree without railing and with widened leaves, on the reverse.

k) Coins of Siri Kaṁ :vāyasiri and Siri Vāyasiri are also obtained as surface finds. Similarly uninscribed coins are not reported from the excavations.

l) Conspicuously coins of the later Sātavāhanas are not found at Kotilingala either in excavations or on the surface.

m) Few copper die struck small round pieces of elephant-ujjain type are found in the surface collection. As the legend on all these coins is clipped off, their proper attribution cannot be made. Similar coins are known from Peddabankur also. These are the only exception to have round shape among the finds of Kotilingala.

n) Large numbers of coins found here which were issued by different authorities namely, Rāño Sāmigōpa, Siri Sātakarṇi, Rāño Siri Chimuka Sātavāhana and Rāño Siri Puḷumāvi and even Sāmi Mahātalavara to some extent, bear close similarity in fabric, shape, weight standards, symbolism and technique. This important feature suggests that Kotilingala used to be a minting place in the pre-Sātavāhana and early Sātavāhana period. For the same reason Puḷumāvi represented here may be supposed to be the first member of that time.

All these observations are tentative and subject to the final report of the excavations.

It is contended by I.K.Sarma that Chimuka of these coins cannot be identified with Simuka of the Naneghat inscription, whom alone, he believes to be the founder member. But the *Purāṇas* mention Chiṣmaka also as his alternate name,. By simple scribal mistake the letter *ma* in Nagari script might have been written as sa, which is not unlikely, as both the letters look similar, at times. Secondly the Naneghat label might have been the Sanskrit form of the name. Lastly, insertion of *ha* accent in some Telugu words is not uncommon; for example Puḷahamāvisa for Puḷumāvisa[11].

Çoins of the latter Sātavāhanas are found at several places in the Deccan, the Tarahala hoard being one of the biggest[12]. It is reported that few thousands of coins of

11. A.M. Shastry (Ed)., *Op. Cit.,* p. 48. Likewise the name Simuka or Chimuka might have been changed as Chhimuka with strong aspirate sound which is not uncommon in Telugu numerals like Padiñenu, Padikēnu etc..

12. *JNSI.* II, pp. 83-94.

the latter kings are found at Peddabankur in the Karimnagar district. A hoard of some hundreds of round copper coins bearing the legends **Rāñō Yāna Sātakaṇisa, Rāñō Siri Puḷumāvisa** was found recently at Akkaram, Nalgonda district. Other stray finds are numerous all over the Deccan. In Warangal, I am told, that Dr. Amjad Ali has collected some thousands of latter Sātavāhana coins. Their distribution pattern indicates that, Telangana part of Andhra Pradesh is now a very fertile region in yielding Sātavāhana coins of almost all the rulers and there would not be any doubt that this part of the Deccan was continuously under the authority of those rulers from the beginning. Several thousands of coins still remain in the Government Museum as well as private collection, which are to be studied.

Silver Portrait Coins

About twenty silver portrait coins of the Sātavāhana kings are published so far. Leaving the earliest one jointly issued by Sātakarṇi and his queen Nāganika,[13] which is believed to be a commemorative issue, after their performance of *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice, portrait coins were issued by the latter kings only. The Jogalthembi hoard[14] of the silver restruck coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi over the coins of Kharāṭa Kshātrapa king Nahapāṇa is the second instance of Sātavāhana portrait coins. Subsequently silver coins with portraits and legends of the kings Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, Khaḍa Sātakarṇi, Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi and Vāsishṭhīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi have been published in various journals[15]. Obverse of these coins contains the head figure of the king with the legend in Prakrit language and Brāhmi letters as **Rāñō Vāsiṭhī putasa Śiri Puḷumāvisa.** On the reverse they contain six-arched hill with crescent on the top, ujjain symbol with crescent and the sun symbol, with the legend around the edge, in Telugu langauge and Brāhmi script like[16].

Arahaṇaku Vāhiṭṭhi Makaṇaku Tiru Pulumāviku
(Arahan = Rajan ; makan = putra; Tiru = Śrī;
ku = possessive case ending = *yokka* in Telugu)

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13. *JNSI* XXXVIII, pp. 6-11 and I.K. Sarma's remarks in his *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Kingdom*, p. 107.
14. *Ibid*, XVII, pp. 97-99; *JBBRAS* XXII, p. 223-243.
15. See for the list of journals *N.D.* III, part II, p. 31.
16. I.K. Sarma, *Op. cit.*, pp. 117 ff.

These coins with bilingual legends were perhaps intended for their home province of the Telugu speaking area and the entire kingdom on the other hand. A silver portrait coin of Vāsishṭhi putra Śiva Siri Puḷumāvi was found in Dhulikatta excavations[17], Karimnagar district. Another coin of the same king is found in Kotilingala surface finds. One more coin is said to have been in the possession of some private owner. Thus, these portrait coins are found in many parts of their kingdom.

New Discoveries In
THE SĀTAVĀHANA COINAGE

- Dr. Mrs. Shobhana Gokhale

Pratiṣṭhāna, the ancient capital city of the Sātavāhanas is a taluk head quarters in Aurangabad District, Maharashtra. It is situated on the left bank of the river Godavari. During the course of exploration at Paiṭhān, I had an apportunity to see some Sātavāhana coins in the collection of Mr. Balasaheb Patil, who evinces keen interest in the Sātavāhana history. He collected some coins from the ancient mounds that encircled the present city of Paithan. Mr. Balasaheb Patil permitted me to present these coins to this august gathering of learned scholars.

Gajalakshmi-Type-Lead Coin of King Sātakarṇi II

So far two "Gajalakshmi" type lead coins, without any legend, have been reported by Dikshit[1] from Paiṭhān excavations, which were, on the basis of stratigraphy, assigned to Sātakarṇi II. The present coin, not only depicts 'Gajalakshmi" but has retained a clear legend " Siri Sātakaṇi" on the obverse.

The coin may be described as follows :

Lead, round in shape, 2.5 cms. in diameter, 5 mm., in thickness and 310 grains in weight.

Obv. : Lakshmi standing on lotus, on both the sides elephants are shown with uplifted trunks.

The marginal legend : *Siri Sātakaṇisa* in Brāhmi characters.

Rev. : It is completely occupied by a tree in railing.

Sātakarṇi II was the illustrious king of the Sātavāhana house. His multi-symbol coinage bears resemblance to the coin-devices of the coins of the early rulers of Kauśambi and Ujjain. So far, only one inscription of his period from Sanchi[2] is known.

1. Dikshit, M.G. : *IAR*, 1965-66 p. 28.
2. Bühler, G. *Ep Ind.*, *Vol* . II, p. 88.

The capital city of Pratiṣṭhāna and other cultural centres like Bhōgavardhana or modern Bhokardhana in Marathwada appear in the inscriptions of Sanchi. It is interesting to note that "Gajalakshmi" device occurs on the copper coins of Avanti[3]. The most plausible explanation for this would be that Sātakarṇi II might have opted this coin-device after annexation of Avanti region to his empire. Gajalakshmi motif occurs at Sanchi and Junnar. It is well known that the Andhra Kings had a special liking for lead as a material for currency and therefore instead of copper, lead was selected for this new coin-device[4].

Three Portrait Coins of Gautamīputra

So far nineteen portrait coins of Sātavāhana rulers are on record ; of these three are assigned to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi , four to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi,[5] one to Khaṇḍa Sātakarṇi,[6] ten to Yajñaśrī,[7] and one to Vijaya Sātakarṇi[8]. Gupta published one portrait from Balpur which he assigned to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi,[9] but the legend on this coin is not clear. Besides these portrait coins, restruck silver coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[10] and a silver coin of Sātakarṇi and Nāganika[11] are also known.

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3. Smith, V.A. : *Coins of Ancient India,* p. 153.
4. i) Trivedi, H.V. *JNSI,* pp. 1-3; p. 1.2.
   ii) Dinkar Rao: *JNSI* XXXVIII, p. 12.
   iii) Gokhale Shobhana : *JNSI,* XI. p. 13-17.
5. i) Altekar A.S: *JNSI,* XI. pp. 59-63, Pl. V-6.
   This coin is also referred to by K. Gopalachari in his *Early History of the Andhra ~~Pradesh.~~* Area)
   ii) Dinkar Rao, : *JNSI,* XX, *pp. 9-10 Pl. 1-4.*
   iii) Ramayya, S. : *JNSI,* XXVII, pp. 32-36 Pl II. 6
   iv) Gupta, P.L. : *JNSI,* XXI, p. 109.
6. Gokhale, Shobhana, *Op. Cit.*
7. i,ii-iii) Rapson, E.J., B.M.C., A.K., p. 45 ; Pl. VII. 178
   iv) Bhandarkar, Dr. : *ASIAR,* 1913-14, p. 208 pl. LXV. 22.
   v) Katare, S.L. : *JNSI,* XII, pp. 127-133; Pl IX-10.
   vi) Ranade, P.V. : *JNSI,* XXVI, p. 98.
   vii) Bajpai K.D., : *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas,* p. 30.
   viii) Gokhale, Shobhana, *Op. Cit.*
   ix) Maheswari, K.K. : *Numismatic Digest,* III. i. pp.1-3.
   x) P.L. Gupta in *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas,* p.61 ln. 116 (VII)
8. Gokhale, Shobhana-*Numismatic Digest,* III, p.
9. Gupta, P.L., : *JNSI.,* XXI, p. 109 ff.
10. Altekar, A.S.: *JNSI*, VIII, 111-113; Pl. VII. 5, Scoot, Rev, H.R. *JBBRAS,* XXIV, 1907, pp. 223-224.
11. Chinmulgund, P.J. : *JNSI,* XXXVII, p, 6-11.

Out of the present three coins, two have retained the name "Siri Sātakaṇisa" behind the neck of the king, on the obverse.

The coins may be described as follows :

Silver 1.5 cms. in diameter, 0.1 mm. thick and 31 grains in wt.

The metrononic which is generally in front of the face, is completely cut off. The third coin has retained the legend - *Sa-Putasa,* infront of the face of the king, therefore, to which Sātakarṇi these coins could be attributed, is an enigma.

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was one of the most victorious kings of the Sātavāhana family. It is well-known that for the establishment of his overlordship, he issued horse - type coins. His ten arched hill-coinage suggests his rule over ten territories. He successfully overthrew the Śaka threat. He recorded his victories in the Nasik insciption and called himself as *Śaka - yavana - Pahlava-niṣūdana.* As suggested by Sircar the Śaka-type silver coins of the Sātavāhana rulers were meant for circulation primarily in the Nasik-Poona region, which was conquered by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, from the Ksaharāṭa-Śakas. The present coins clearly show that Gautamīputra must have issued portrait coins for the people of this region to establish firm footing of his rule. It is well-known that the Sātavāhana rulers, for their silver coins, adopted the weight-standard, fabric device and bilingualism of the Western-Kshātrapa coins. But the Sātavāhana coins do not show any slavish imitation. It is therefore obvious that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was the first ruler who modelled his coins after those of Nahapāṇa.

While discussing the extreme scarcity of Silver portrait coins of Sātavāhana rulers, Rao[12] has rightly observed that the silver portrait coins were struck in limited number and might be of commemorative nature, issued after some important event.

On the basis of these three coins, it could logically be concluded that, to commemorate his glorious victory over the Śakas, Gautamīputra might have issued silver portrait coins.

12. Dinkar Rao, : *op. cit.* p-12.

On the re-struck silver coins of Gautamīputra, Ujjain symbol was put as a mark of victory. This symbol again appears invariably by the side of *chaitya*, on all the known portrait coins.

It is generally believed that the portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas have been found so far only in the northern and central parts of the Sātavāhana kingdom. The discovery of these three coins at Paiṭhān, have offered a new unique evidence to reconsider the earlier speculations.

The Sanskritic-Prakrit legend which was the language of the people was used on the obverse and to differentiate his coins from those of the Kshātrapas, Gautamīputra employed Dravidian characters, by using an admixture of Dravidian language and alphabets.

On the basis of the portrait coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi reported to date, it is considered that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi was the first Sātavāhana ruler who initiated bilingual and biscriptual coins. But the present coins show that it was Gautamīputra, who initiated bilingual and biscriptual coins.

Lastly the portraiture on these three coins is entirely different from the so far known portrait coins.

On the basis of this positive evidence, these three coins could be assigned to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

It must be stated here that, I found one silver portrait coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and a mint-fresh silver portrait coin of Yajñaśrī. In addition to these coins, I found a terracotta-mould,which. contains three sockets for portrait coins. When we put plastocenc in them, they revealed three different portraits of Yajñaśrī. They show young, middle-aged, and old portraits of the king Yajñaśrī.

The *Purāṇas* invaribly assign Yajñaśrī a long reign. The China Ganjum inscription[13] of Yajñaśrī is recorded in the 27th year of his reign. This *Purāṇic* as well as epigraphic evidence is corroborated by this new numismatic evidence. It is interesting

13. Bühler, J. : *Ep. Ind*, Vol. I, p-95-96.

to note that these three moulds display three different hair styles of the king. The young portrait of Yajñaśrī shows a typical Indian style of a hero, described in classical dramas as '*Dhirōdatta*'. The middle-aged portrait displays *Kakapakṣa* hair-style of a soldier and the portrait of the old king has depicted frizzled hair-style. Probably, it might be a wig. The mould has preserved the negative of the obverse, with clear legend.

Two coin sockets are joined by a channel for the molten metal. A unique clay mould of the reverse of the portrait coin, is reported from the excavated early historical levels at Nagarjunakonda.[14]

The three moulds have retained the legends as follows :

Young age Portrait : *Sara yaṇa Sātakaṇasa rāṇo Gōtamīputa.*

Middle aged Portrait : *Sara yaṇa Sātakaṇasa rāṇo Gōtamīputasa*

Old age Portrait : .... *na Sātakaṇasa rāṇo Gōtama.*

Elephant Rider Coin of King Yajñaśrī

The coin may be described as follows :

Copper : round of 1.7 x 70 cms., dia,, and 2.10 gms., in wt.

Obverse : Elephant with hanging trunk; king sitting in hauda and holding *Aṅkuśa*; marginal legend in Brahmi : *Yaṇa Sātakaṇasa.*

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with pellet.

Rapson[15] has noted this variety of coin of Yajñaśrī. Unfortunately the specimen which he noted was not in good condition. This is the first time that a copper coin of Yajñaśrī displays the elephant rider and thus adds a notable evidence to the Sātavāhana coinage.

14. Sharma, I.K. : *The coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire,* 1980, p. 117.
15. Rapson, E.J. : *Catalogue of the Andhra Dynasty, Western Kṣatrapas.* The *Traikūṭaka dynasty and the Bōdhi dynasty,* 1908, p. 44. no. 117.

All the above mentioned coins are from Paiṭhān. These varieties of coins suggest that Paiṭhān, might be a minting centre. The hamlets around Paiṭhān are significant and suggest different market sectors. They are locally known as *Taṅḍulwāḍi* (rice lane), *Chanakawāḍi* (gram lane). *Dāl-wāḍi* (pulses lane), *Nāralawāḍi* (coconut lane,) and *Pañjana wāḍi* (textile lane), etc.

NEW LIGHT FROM THE COINS OF VEERAPURAM

- Dr. T.V.G. Sastry

Introduction and Previous Work

If we try to trace the history of a dynasty either from inscriptions or coins alone, mostly it would be inadequate and less authentic. Sometimes, in the absence of other evidences, we have to satisfy ourselves in linking up the historical events and the genealogy of the kings in some form or other. A reasonable link-up of the historical events would be no doubt, with the available evidence, is hazardous. Although, it may lead to divergence, an academic venture of this nature is worthwhile.

The numismatic evidence regarding the Mahārathi coins is rather meagre. Their history and genealogy have to be built up in addition, with inscriptional evidences. So far only one king from this line is known. He is known to the numismatists as, Sadakaṇa Kaḍālaya. He was the originator of the Mahārathi line and the coins bear a clear legend as *Sadakaṇa Kaḍālaya Mahārathisa*. From the inscription, he is known to have had matrilineal relations with the Sātavāhanas. Initially, his coins were reported from Chitaldurg, in North Canara, which were published by Rapson. Two different types of coins of this king have been published by him. The particulars of those coins are :

Type One :

Obv. : Humped bull standing to left.
Inscription : **Sadakaṇa Kaḍālaya**

Rev. : Tree within a railing ; *chaitya*, consisting of two tiers of small arches and one large arch, having a bend, a waved line and surmounted by a crescent.

Type Two :

Obv. : As in type one.

Rev. : As in type one, but having a triangular headed trident above, between the tree and the *chaitya* and a symbol. (probably *nandipāda* in L. field.)

Again from the excavations at Chandravalli, in Karnataka, nine coins of type one, and one coin of type two of the same king were found. Another coin of the former type bears a legend reading as *Kaṇhasa Mahārathi Putasa.* To these should be added, the coins obtained from Kolhapur, in Maharashtra, bearing similar legends of the king. Mention should also be made of a seal picked up from Maski, by the Archaeological department of H.E.H. the Nizam's State. It is a broken seal with a clear legend reading as - *Sa Mahārathiputa.* Summing up the notes of the above material, we come across two kings, the father and his son.

We have already seen that the Mahārathi king, Sadakaṇa Kaḍālaya, had matrilineal relations with the Sātavāhanas. This could be ascertained from the Naneghat inscription of Nāganika, daughter of the Mahārathi king, and wife of *Dakshiṇāpathapati* Siri Sātakarṇi, the third king of the Sātavāhana line. The Naneghat cave has also the relievo figures of the Royal personages, which include, among others, Sadakaṇa Kaḍālaya, preceding the figure of the King Sātakarṇi. This indicates that he occupied a prominent place along with the Sātavāhana kings. Although the names of the kings shown in relievo are also engraved below, the name of the Mahārathi king is not very clear. However, Rapson compares it with the legend on the coins with engraving and concludes that he could be no other than the king Sadakaṇa Kaḍālaya. Besides the main inscription of Nāganika, mention should be made of his other titles like *Āṅgiyakulavardhana* and *Trāṇakayirō.* Thus, the inscription not only corroborates the numismatic evidence, but also gives historical connection of the Sātavāhanas with the Mahārathis.

Incidentally, Sadakaṇa became the grand father (maternal) of Kumāra Hakusiri, who came to the throne after Siri Sātakarṇi I. However, Hakusiri's name was not popular either in history or the *Purāṇas.* It is mentioned only in the inscriptions at Naneghat and Nasik.

The Naṣik record of Bhaṭapālikā contains the name of Hakusiri and that Senart observes that Mahā Hakusiri mentioned in it, is the same as Kumāra Hakusiri of the Naneghat inscription. This name of the fourth king in the Sātavāhana line is only recorded in the inscriptions. No coin of Hakusiri has been reported so far. In the light of the above published material, the numismatic evidence from the excavations of Veerapuram offers new material that gives scope for further research.

Coins from the Excavations at Veerapuram

The ancient site of Veerapuram lies about 2 kms., north-east of Veerapuram village in Nandikotkur taluk of Kurnool district. It is a truncated and centrally flat mound that slopes down westwards. It is situated on the right bank of the river Krishna that joins the river Bhavanasi, half-a kilometre further down, at Chakrateertha Sangam. About 5 kms. up stream, there lies another confluence between the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra. Thus, fed by three rivers and placed in between two confluences, lies the ancient mound of Veerapuram.

This mound of Veerapuram was excavated for three seasons by the Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute during the years 1978-80. The highest elevated portion of the mound was designated as the central mound, while the lowest portion was designated as Western mound. Excavations revealed a total of 22 layers in the Central mound, from top to bottom, that is upto the natural soil, while the western mound has 16 layers only. Thus, the first 6 layers of Early Historical period in the top of the Western mound, were completely dug away by the local people. As revealed by the excavations, the mound seems to have had its beginnings in the Neolithic period and continued up to 350 A.D. Although, a few coins occurred in the Central mound, numismatically the western mound is found to be very important. Stratigraphy in both the mounds reveals that immediately after the Megalithic period, there was an overlap phase preceding the Early Historical deposits. Three layers of this overlap phase in general, yielded punch-marked coins, besides, Mahārathi coin and a Sātavāhana coin, occurring in the same level, which can be dated from 50 B.C. to 50 A.D. The Mahārathi coin is a large lead coin, bearing the legend of the son of the originator of the Mahārathi line. Possibly he was the son of Kaḍalālaya and compares well with the Sadakaṇa Kaḍalālaya coins of Chandravalli. The reverse bears a tree over a railing and enclosed in double squares. In a different trench from the same level, we have a bilingual lead coin with the legend, "Rājño, Hakuna Satakanasa". Thus, this new numismatic find corroborates the evidence from the Nasik cave inscription, which mentions the name of Mahā Hakusiri. The coin, has, on its obverse, the portrait of the Roman emperor Tiberius. On the reverse is the portrait of Hakusiri. Artistically, the portraits of both the Roman and the Sātavāhana kings are typically uniform. It possibly leads to the conclusion, that the coin was minted in Rome. Stratigraphically, layers 4 and 3 of the

western mound are typical Mahārathi Layers. Layer 6 of the central mound shows the beginning of the Temple construction. The Mahārathi levels yielded the following coins with the legends in order. They are :

1. Mahārathisa Mahātalava,
2. Mahārathiputa Sivala
3. Mahārathisa Siva Mahā Hatasa
4. Mahārathi Khada Porihalasa
5. Mahārathi Siva Khaḍasa.

The discovery of an Ikshvāku coin containing the name of the king as Ikākunāṁ Khaḍadāta, indicates that he was responsible for the destruction and defeat of the Mahārathis as evidenced from the destruction of the fortification walls.

However, the Ikshvāku influence was not to last long. Almost in the next layer, we find the emergence of the Mahārathis and the reconstruction of the temples.

In general, the numismatic details of the kings are as follows :

Obv. : The details on all the coins show standing elephant, facing left. Above its back, is a railing or *Nandipāda*; the names of the kings are written above the elephant along the rim. One exception is the coin of Mahārathiputa Śivala, in which the elephant is shown facing right.

Rev. : All the coins have six - arched hill, pyramidically arranged with pellets and dots within. They have on either side creepers. Below lies a wavy line. All these are enclosed in double squares.

Exceptions to the above have already been discussed in the case of Sadakaṇaputa and Hakusiri coins. Besides, the coin of Ikkāku Khaḍadāta has the following details :

Obv. : A semicircle in the centre and along the rim seems the legend Ikhākunāṁ Khaḍadāta.

Rev. : Six-arched hill, within a square. A good portion of it is obliterated.

Evaluation of New Numismatic Evidence

The numismatic evidence furnished by the coins of Veerapuram establishes the following conclusions.

1. That, the Mahārathi line of kings did not end with Sadakaṇa Kalālaya and his son, but followed by more kings whose coins have come to light.

2. Veerapuram or, broadly speaking the north-eastern part of the Deccan could be the original home of the Mahārathi kings.

3. They, ie., the Mahārathis showed leanings towards Saivism as can be inferred from the names of the kings and the temples they built.

4. The Mahārathis adopted local traditions in their names. Veerapuram coins show that, the dynastic name, Mahārathisa precedes the personal name as we see in Andhra today. Whereas the coins of Kolhapur and other places show the tradition of the Maharatha country where Mahārathisa occurs after the personal name- as in the case of Sadakaṇa Kalālaya Mahārathisa.

5. A close study of the coins, whether Sātavāhana, Mahārathi or Ikshvāku, revealed that the same art traditions were followed.

6. Hakusiri, the son of the Sātavāhana king Siri Sātakarṇi, ruled for sometime and issued his own coins. This is corroborated by the inscriptional evidence of Nasik.

7. As a great king, Hakusiri enjoyed international reputation. Even the Roman king Tiberius issued a portrait coin in his honour, with the portrait of Hakusiri on the reverse.

8. The portrait coin of Hakusiri sets at rest, the longer chronology for the early Sātavāhana kings, centuries before Christ.

The Historical Perspective

With the help of the above numismatic evidence of a number of Mahārathi coins at Veerapuram, some historical link can be attempted. Geographically, the place lies in the junction of the Erramalai and the Nallamalai range of hills. As the river Krishna flows down the Srisailam hills, for about 100 kilometres further down, there is the valley of Nagarjunakonda. Hence, it had the potentialities for becoming the capital of another dynasty of kings, like the Mahārathis at Veerapuram. At Veerapuram, the Mahārathis became friends and relatives of the Sātavāhana kings. Similarly, the Ikshvākus at Nagarjunakonda were also the favourites of the Sātavāhanas. While the Mahārathis stood solidly behind the Sātavāhanas at Veerapuram, the Ikshvākus struck the blow, when the Sātavāhana power waned in Nagarjunakonda valley and formed the dynasty of Ikshvākus independently with Vijayapuri as their capital. It was these Ikshvākus, who tried to engulf the entire dominion of the Mahārathis under Ikshvāku Khaḍadāta. Although, the Ikshvāku adventurer defeated them, possibly he could not retain them for a long time, as evidenced by the excavations at Veerapuram.

Some how, the excavations at Veerapuram have not thrown much light on the period that followed after the Mahārathis. The central mound had at least two layers of post-Mahārathi period. In trying to assess the authorship of these layers, we have to consider the Ābhīra incursion into Nagarjunakonda valley and possibly its subsequent occupation by the Pallavas. These political upheavals at Vijayapuri could have caused the shifting of the Ikshvāku capital from the Srisailam range of hills. The nearest political force could be no other than that was stationed at Veerapuram.

Now, if we look back to the geography of the place, once again, within a range of twenty five miles, there are thick forests of the Nallamalai range of hills, interspaced with villages and hamlets, serving as feeder centres for the capital of Veerapuram, both in times of war and peace. Since the kings protected the vast areas of forest dwellers, they became the rulers of Vanavasas for which Veerapuram served as their capital. Thus the post Mahārathi phase could be attributed to the Kadaṁbas, who held sway over vast tracts of land. According to Chandravalli Prakrit inscription, the Kadaṁba king Mayūraśarman made extensive conquests, and was said to have defeated the kings of Ābhīra, Trikūṭa, Pallava, Pāriyātrika, Śakasthāna, Punnata, and Mokāry. For all these

far - flung kingdoms from Viṅdhyas deep into Tamilnadu, Veerapuram could have served as the central place for his military operations.

Initially, both the kingdoms of the Mahārathis and the Ikshvākus were overrun by the Ābhīras. The Ikshvākus must have surreptitiously invited the Kadaṁba chief Mayūraśarman to overthrow the Ābhīras. This could be inferred from the Chandravalli inscription. Possibly the Kadaṁbas would have made use of the old Mahārathi territory for further campaigns against other kingdoms. Thus, the strategic area of the Srisailam range of hills might have become the home of the Kadaṁba kingdom. The Kadaṁbas and the Ikshvākus might have existed side by side for sometime as friendly neighbours, with their capital Vaijanti on one side, and Vijayapuri on the other side of the Srisailam range of hills. Further light could be thrown, if intensive excavations are conducted in the submersible region of the almost completed Hydro-Eletric Project at Srisailam.

A Note On
A SILVER PORTRAIT COIN OF PUḶUMĀVI

- P. Sitapati

Three silver coins, unpublished hitherto, were given to me by the Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad, to study and with permission, to publish the coins. Nothing is known about their provenance, except that they were purchased in Andhra pradesh.

Laboratory tests, made on the coins, revealed that one was of silver, while the other was of silver alloy, with a mixture, most likely of copper, while the last one was, certainly, a fake silver coin made of copper and coated with silver.

The following tabular statement furnishes the data of all the three coins whose size is 0.60".

S.No	Details	weight in gms.	Specific gravity gms. / c.c.
1.	Silver coin of Puḷumāvi.	1.870	10.42
2.	Silver alloy coin of Vāsiṭhīputa Sātakarṇi	1.825	9.63
3.	Copper coin (fake silver) Vasiṭhīputa Sātakarṇi.	1.495	8.57

(The specific gravity of silver coin is 10.5 and that of copper is 8.57 gms./c.c.)

The first one is a genuine silver coin, while the second one contains impure silver or rather a silver alloy with copper, which has brought down the density of the coin to 9.63 gms. per c.c.

The third one though silver plated, is definitely a fake silver coin, the base metal being copper. This shows that even in the early Sātavāhana days, human nature remained what it continues to be today ie., faking the currency and coins!

The coins are all inscribed in Brāhmi characters. The first coin, which belongs to Puḷumāvi, reads as follows :-

Obverse : Si ri Pu (ḷu) (mā) (va) - missing
Si ṭhi pu ta

Reverse : a ra ha ṇa ku ṭhi

The coin belongs to Vāsiṭhīputa Puḷumāvi and it is worth-noting that, it is a bilingual coin, as it bears the Tamil words *arahaṇaku* also.

The obverse of the Puḷumāvi coin bears the portrait of the Sātavāhana king. The king has a prominent aquiline nose and a prominent protruding lower lip. The face is warrior-like : and from the face one can figure out a tall, well-built king, who appeared stern, majestic and at the same time contented.

The reverse of the coin shows the Ujjain symbol, the *Chaitya* and the wavy river symbol.

A New Coin Of
GAUTAMĪPUTRA YAJÑA ŚRĪ SĀTAKARṆI (?)

- S. Dasarathi

Sometime ago I had an opportunity to collect some Sātavāhana coins from Sri G.V. Subbaiah, a native of Ghantasala village, in Divi taluk of Krishna district. He was kind enough to inform that these coins were picked up by the villagers from the surrounding fields of that village.

Ghantasala is one of the important ancient seaports on the east - coast of South India. An inscription from Amaravati[1] mentions *Kaṭakaśāla* identified as the modern Ghantasala. One of the inscriptions from Peda Vegi[2], near Eluru of West Godavari district, refers to *Kaṁṭakaśāla* as being situated on the east. An inscription from Nagarjunakonda[3] also refers to a *mahāchaitya* of this place. Even today the remains of a *stūpa* are still standing, in the fields, close to the village. Some of the inscriptions datable to early centuries of the Christian era found at this place call it as *Kaṁṭakaśāla.* The inhabitants of the village report that, even now, during rainy-season, they chance upon ancient coins in the surroundings.

Of the five coins collected, three belonging to the same variety are described hereunder.

Coin No. 1

Metal : Lead ; Size : 16 X 18 mm.

Shape : irregularly round; Weight : 5.6 grams.

Obverse : Lion standing and facing left, with tail upcurved and twirled at the end ; face is off the flan; the legend is missing as the lion symbol just touched the upper edge of the coin.

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1. Burgess, *Archaeological Survey of South India,* Vol I. pp. 106, Plate no. 54.
2. 219 of 1927, *Annual Epigraphical Report; Buddhist Remains in Andhra and History of Andhras* , p. 4.
3. 214 of 1927, *Annual Epigraphical Report.*

Reverse : Ship with two masts, fairly secured erect by two pairs of stays on either side. At the left end of the ship, a slant anchor is also depicted. On the deck of the ship in between the two masts, a navigator is faintly delineated.

Coin No 2 :

Metal : Lead; Size : 16 X 18 mm.

Shape : Irregularly round; Weight : 5.5 grams

Obverse : Lion standing and facing left, with its tail up-curved and twirled at the end; the head of the animal is fully extant; the fore legs of the animal are blurred a little; the mane of the lion is visible; the legend, however is not traccable on this coin also.

Reverse : Faint traces of ship can be noticed in the lower part of the coin; a large part of the symbol is off the flan and masts appear to have blurred completely.

Coin No 3 :

Metal : Lead; Size : 16 X 18 mm.

Shape : Irregularly round; Weight : 5.3 grams.

Obverse : Lion standing and facing left with tail up-curved and twirled at the end; the face and fore-legs of the animal are partly off the flan; the legend runs. ie., at the top in the hind portion of the symbol. Faint traces of **Si ri ya** can be traced with utmost difficulty. The legend is blurred beyond decipherment.

Reverse : Blank; but the thicker edge at which faint traces of ship are discernible as on coin No. 2. may have contained ship symbol[4]. It is however doubtful.

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4. I.K. Sarma : *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire*, pp. 142-143.

A study of the afore described three coins together reveals that this coin belongs to a type with lion and ship symbols, on the obverse and reverse respectively. The method of technique and fabric of the coins are so strikingly similar that they seem to belong to a single king. If the reading of the legend is acceptable, then they may be attributed to the Sātavāhana king **Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi.**

Among the Satavahana rulers only two kings, are so far known to have issued the coins bearing Ship symbol[5]. They are **Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi.** But their Ship-type coins bear only Ujjain symbol on the reverse[6]. Further, both the kings are reported to have issued coins bearing lion as obverse symbol but the reverse containing either a hill with varied number of arches or blank or Ujjain symbol[7].

The coins under description bear on the other hand Lion and Ship exclusively as obverse and reverse symbols on one and the same coin. As such, this may be regarded as a new type of coin, where, the otherwise obverse symbols occupy the obverse and reverse fields of one and the same coin.

If the attribution of the coin to Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi is acceptable, it may be pointed out that this *Siṁha Vikrama* as deduced from the obverse Lion symbol, promoted extensive maritime commerce during his reign, as suggested by the Ship symbol on the reverse. The presence of both the symbols, on the same coin may also suggest his unassailable position in the field of naval combat.

Incidentally one of the inscriptions from Ghantasala refers to one *'Ma ha ṅa vi ka sa si va ka sa'.* Ptolemy notices the seaports of Kontakossyla, Koddoira (the modern Gudur, about 5kms., from Bandar or Masula) and Allosygne in the Maisolia region.

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5. I.K. Sarma : Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire : *Corpus of the Sātavāhana Coinage,* pp. 227-228 and 257-258.
6. *Ibid,* pp : 224-226 and pp. 260-261.
7. Mc.Grindle : *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy,* pp. 66-68.

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FORTS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD IN ĀNDHRA DEŚA

- Dr. N.S. Ramachandra Murthy

Antiquity

The earliest mention of forts or fortified towns in Andhra, occurs in the accounts of Megasthenes followed by Pliny. The latter stated that they, the Āndrae (Āndhras) had possessed thirty walled towns, numerous villages and an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants"[1]. From this, we learn that the Āndhras *i.e.*, Sātavāhanas, the earliest rulers of the Āndhra country, were already a political and military force to reckon with. Originally, being the local chieftains in mid Godavari valley, they slowly expanded their power and authority and rose to imperial position in the Deccan when Kaṇha or Krishṇa, the second member of the *Purāṇic* genealogy, declared independence. Their empire at its zenith comprised the whole of the Deccan and hence they were known as *Dakshiṇāpathapatis*[2]. Several attempts have been made by scholars to locate and identify the 30 walled towns mentioned by Pliny. But it must be noted that they were spread over the entire Deccan and not confined to the limits of the present day Andhra Pradesh alone. Apart from their capital cities i.e., Amaravati in Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh and Paithan in Aurangabad District, Maharashtra, numerous other sites of the same period have come to light, as a result of extensive archaeological explorations. To mention a few are Tagara in Kolhapur District, Junan and other sites in the valley of river Ghod in Pune District, Nevasa on the river Pravara, Bahal on Girnar, also in Maharashtra, Khandesh and Maheshwar in Central India[3]. In Andhra Pradesh also, a few sites of the same period have been discovered by the State department of Archaeology and Museums. Notable among them, are Peddabankur, Dhulikatta, Kotalingala in Karimnagar District and Poolakonda in Warangal District.

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1. Mc. Crindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p.140.
2. Burgess, J.A.S, *Nasik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Bālaśrī, Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions*, No. 18, pp. 108-09.
3. Sankhalia, H.D., *Aspects of Indian Archaeology Article :* Archaeology and Tradition, pp. 274-275.

Dharanikota :

Dharaṇikōṭa is also known as *Dhamnakaḍa, Dhanakaḍa, Dhānayakaṭaka* and *Dharaṇikōṭa* in inscriptions[4] and literature. Situated on the southern bank of river Krishna, a little over 32 kms., higher up from Bezawada near Amaravati, it was first discovered by Colonel Colin Mackenzie in A.D. 1797. He called, it as *Durnacoṭṭa,* which according to him was however an impressive ruin[5]. He described it as being "surrounded on all four sides by a massive embankment of earth and broken brick and stones, about 650 yards on each side, the west side being a little shorter and irregular, owing to a curve in the river bank"[6]. This embankment marks the site of the ancient walls of what must have been the citadel of a city and a place of considerable strength in early times. The ancient city of Dharaṇikōṭa is said to have extended for 5.6 kms., in length on the western side of the village Muttaypālem and on the east to a small Pagoda of Peddantiyamman, on the road to Vaikuṇṭhapuram. These places are each about 2.8 kms., from the centre of Dharaṇikōṭa. On the south the extent is not precisely known but it is supposed that it did not extend beyond Nakkadēvara Dinne[7]. He also mentioned that, at a distance of 500 yards from the western end of the town of Amarāvati, is situated Durnacoṭṭa. The vestiges of this ancient fort indicate that it had been well fortified, as the walls appear to be of amazing thickness and of considerable elevation. Its form is that of a square, but some-what irregular on the northern side and the intervening space between itself and the river Krishṇa is adorned with small gardens. The embankments on this side are much higher and divided by nullahs running into the river. He further says, "the dimensions of each side of the fort are about 630 yards. The gateways appear to have stood opposite to each other in eastern and western directions. The quantity of bricks said to have been dug up and the abundance of small pieces with which the excavations are filled, give every reason to suppose that it was a brick construction, the walls of which appear to have been 25', thick. The surface of the ground within is very uneven in one part in particular, where the nullah takes its passage, the slopes on either side of it are very considerable"[8].

4. Lüders H., *List of Brāhmi inscriptions* Nos. 1225, 1271, and 1205.
5. Mackenzie, G., *Krishna District Manual* 1883, also Ramaswamy N. S., *Amarāvati - the Art and History of the Stūpa and the Temple,* p. 20.
6. Burgess J.A.S., *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeṭa* Ch. II, p. 13.
7. *Ibid,* p. 13.
8. Ramaswamy N.S., *op.cit.* p. 20.

The above account of Mackenzie is corroborated by the depiction of an ancient Indian city in the carvings at Sanchi and Amaravati, with a wall and a moat adjoining. "An interesting coping stone of a rail offers a very elaborate representation of the outskirts of a city with a gate house, surrounded by a brick wall, above which many storeyed buildings and towers raise their heads[9], A somewhat analogous scene with an open court yard in front, bounded by two projecting towers and an entrance gateway on the side is seen in a medallion from Amaravati[10]. Gate towers of the cities occur in the sculptures at Amaravati, which, Coomaraswamy has identified as the cities of Kusinara and Benaras, which have the characteristic moat, walls in bricks, circular in shape, evidently round the boundaries of the cities[11]. According to Dr. C. Sivarama Murty, the wall (*prākāra)* is nowhere fully shown in Amaravati, from which the absence of a moat (*parikha*) can be understood. The gateways break the continuity of *prākāra*. The *tōraṇa* and *gōpura* known as *Bahirdvāra* and *Puradvāra* (outer and inner entrances) of the city respectively are represented. The *gōpura* of the city's inner entrance had three important adjuncts like the tower (*aṭṭa, aṭṭāla, aṭṭālaka*), the rampart (*prākāra*) and the arched gateway[12].

The above account enables us to get a general picture of the fort of Dharaṇikōṭa as it stood in the Sātavāhana period. But we do not know anything about its shape or plan and about its other architectural adjuncts like bastions, parapet wall or palace complex. Similarly, it is also not known whether the plan of the gateway was plain and simple without any entwining turns or complex as in the case of forts of the medieval period. Even archaeologicl excavations conducted at the site in 1962-63 do not help us in the matter. A cutting laid across the western side of the fort brought to light seven structural phases, the earliest being dated to 3 rd - 2 nd c.B.C. The final phase belonged to the Ikshvāku period which saw the embankment converted into a defensive wall, after which,it had been abandoned[13]. But subsequent excavations conducted in 1974 brought to light some striking results. In the earliest levels of Dharaṇikōṭa and in the earliest

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9. Burgess, J.A.S., *The Buddhist Stūpas, op.cit* to previous page Pl. XXI : 2.
10. *Ibid,* pl. XVII :2
11. Ibid, pl. XXV : 2 also Gangooly O.C., *Andhra Sculptures* , p 88.
12. Sivarama Murthy, C., *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Govt. Museum,* pp. 128-130.
13. *IAR,* 1962-63, p. 1

strata of Period I at Amarāvati, were discovered profuse quantities of N.B.P ware[14]. The N.B.P. at Dharaṇikōṭa has a date range from 405±95 B.C. to 145±100 B.C[15]. The C14 dates obtained for Dharaṇikōṭa are as follows[16].

1. T.F. 246 :	Early Historic Period DKT - I, Layer 2	2,355±95 (2,425±100) B.P. (475 ±100) B.C.
2. T.F. 247 :	Early Historic Period DKT, Layer 8	2,275±100 (2,340±100) B.P. (390±100) B.C.
3. T.F. 248 :	Early Historic Period II (Fortifications)	2,095±100 (2,155±100) B.P. (205±100) B.C.

From the above study of the archaeological material, it is clear that the fortifications of Dharaṇikōṭa belong to the middle of 4th-3rd centuries B.C. and it is a younger contemporary of North Indian forts like Kausambi [17] 500 ± 105 B.C.,[18] Ujjain 450 ± 95 B.C., Varanasi[19] 400 ±110 B.C., Rajagir[20] 265 ± 105 B.C., Sravasti [21] 275 ± 200 B.C., Vaisali 2nd c.B.C., [22] and Sisupalgarh 200 ± 100 B.C[23]. Further it falls under the first two categories of the traditional classification of forts viz., *Sthala* and *Jala durgas*, for, it fully satisfies the requisite qualifications of being situated on a plain terrain and on the banks of a river. Even the very name of the place indicates that it was a *Sthala durga*. The absence of a moat (*parikha*) may be explained by its situation on the bed of river Krishna. In this respect, it appears to stand in close parallel to the fort of Pāṭalīputra which also stands at the confluence of two rivers namely Ganges in the north and Son on the south and west. From this, it appears that the builders of the fort of Dharaṇikōṭa were guided by the already existing example of Pāṭalīputra, the capital

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14. Sarma I.K., *C 14 "Dates N.B.P. ware* and *Early Historical Archaeology of Peninsular India*, JIH, LII, Pt. I, pp. 49-56.
15. *Ibid* P. 53
16. *Ibid*
17. Ramachandran, K.S., *Radio Carbon Dates of Archaeological Sites in India*, pp. 64-66.
18. *Ibid* p. 140.
19. I.K. Sarma, *op.cit*
20. Ramachandran, K.S. *op.cit.* p.116.
21. Sarma, I.K., *op.cit.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*

of Magadha. This is further supported by the fact that, other fortified towns of the same period in the Deccan, like Paithan in Aurangabad District, Maharashtra and Kotalingala in Karimnagar District, Andhra Pradesh, are also situated on the banks of river Godavari.

Dhulikatta :

It is a small village of special importance in Peddapalli taluk of Karimnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. Here lies a huge Sātavāhana fort, extending over an area of about 36 acres of land. Preliminary excavations conducted at this site revealed a mud fortification and brick wall, over rubble foundation with 6 courses running in north-south direction. The wall, according to the excavators[24], appeared to be the portion of a gateway to the fort. Another trench laid parallelly also revealed a brick wall with the same orientation. The bricks measure 53 X 30 X 10 cms. A few postholes over the brick structures are also noticed. The distance between the walls is 10 mts., while the width of the wall is 1.60 mts. Trench-V, laid across the western bund of the rain gully, revealed 7 layers, including natural morum. Layers 2 and 3 yielded typical Sātavāhana wares. Trench-VI, in the south-east corner across the fortification mound, brought to light, at a depth of 3 mts., a deep moat around the fort on the outer side.

Further excavations, conducted during the field-season 1976-77, exposed the full view of the southern gateway, guard-rooms and the adjoining structures. The gate complex consisted of a series of guard-rooms in two rows, facing each other, with a central pathway to serve as in and out let to the fort. The total length of the outer walls, running in north-south direction measured 15.30 mts. The structure above it, is raised across the mud fortifcation. The middle path was probably provided with doors at either end to regulate entry into the fort. There are 3 guardrooms of 6 X 3 X 3 mts. in each row. Out side the main gate in the south is another brick structure of an earlier phase. the extant western wing of the above structure with recesses and projections, is *Swastika* in plan. In the middle of the rampart, about 100 mts. north of the gateway, was traced a palace complex, which revealed five phases of structural activity.

From the above study, it becomes clear that Dhulikatta came into existence in the

4. Krishna Sastry, V.V., *Proto and Early Historical Cultures of A.P.*, p. 208.

pre-Sātavāhana period and transformed into a nucleus of political activity during the Sātavāhana period. The evidence of structural remains is supplemented by the pottery found at various levels in different phases.

Satanikota :

It is[25] situated in Nandikotkur taluk of Kurnool Dist. on the right bank of river Tungabhadra. The name Sātānikōṭa appears to be a corrupt form of *Sātavāhanikōṭa*, which indicates that, it was a fortified place during the Satavahana period. Excavations conducted here by M.C. Ghosh, brought to light a fortified township of the Sātavāhana period. Cuttings laid in different parts of the western mound, namely SKT-1 yielded a massive fortification wall and a moat. Similarly, trenches in SKT-3 and 4 laid in the western and southern periphery of the mound revealed an elaborate gate complex, and the extention of the fortification wall and the moat.

Stratigraphically the fortification activity belongs to period II i.e. middle of first C.B.C. to middle of 3rd C.A.D. which represents the chief occupational period which falls into three main phases; I, IIA and IIB. The fortification wall, together with the moat and the gate, form, according to the excavators, the main structural activities of phase I. It was also observed that the builders of the fort followed, in medieval times, the contour of the natural elevated ground, while the existence of the fortification wall could be well established, partially on the western and eastern periphery. On the southern side was exposed a considerable stretch of the wall with a gateway. It was also found that the steep and inaccessible escarpment on the riverside rising to a height of 9 mts., from its bed on the north-east, was effectively utilised for defence. However, no bastions were noticed.

The main fortification wall, was built of Cuddapah slabs of irregular dimensions laid in mud mortar. It measures 3.20 mts., in width with about 10 to 13 courses. It is raised immediately over the red patinated gravels, and provided with baked brick farming rising to an extant height of 5 courses. The bricks measure 56 X 25 X 6 cms.

25. *Indian Archaeology Review*: 1977-78, pp.3-10

On the outside, the fortification wall is skirted by a rock-cut moat cut into the natural bed rock, as evidenced by chisel marks. The moat measures about 3.20 mts., deep and 4.25 mts., wide.

The gate-way complex on the south is the most outstanding architectural part of the entire fortification complex. It is characterised by a flight of steps, with a width of 3 mts., flanked by a 0.45 mt., wide, north-south running parapet wall, partly of baked bricks and stones. There is also evidence of two sockets on either side of the outer edge of the gateway complex and almost perched on the inner edge of the moat. This, according to the excavators, was meant for heavy posts of a draw bridge used for crossing the moat.

The only evidence of habitation available for the site, is pottery, which consists of thin necked jar rims and carinated bowls, etc. Both thick grained and thin grained are represented.

Bodhan :

Bōdhan[26] is another place of antiquity in Nizamabad District, Andhra Pradesh. In the early *Jātaka* literature, it is styled as *Potali, Podana*, and *Paudanya*, the capital of Asmaka and Bahudhānya in medieval inscriptions. The country in which it lies, corresponds to *Asmagai* of Pliny. The existence of a huge earthen mound leads us to surmise that, it must have been a strong fotified city during the Sātavāhana period.

Kotilingala :

It is a small village which lies about 60 kms. from Karimnagar. It stands on the right bank of river Godavari on one side i.e. north and flanked by a rivulet Peddavagu on the east. It revealed on the surface, a huge earthen mound extending over 100 acres and measuring over 1000 mts. long, west-east and 300 mts., north-south, thus presenting an oblong shape. Excavations yielded two phases of defence, viz. period I represented by mud rampart, rising to a height of about 9 to 10 mts. from the surrounding ground level with a width of 70 mts. The filling comprises of two kinds of material i.e., black cotton sticky clay and yellowish morum, mixed with kankar alternately.

26. Yazdani, G. *EHD* I, p. 26.

The main ceramic industry yielded in this level is plain red ware, devoid of any decorations and other structural activity included rubble stones. In period II, the site yielded two important defensive structures viz., a brick fortification wall and a corner bastion or watch tower. The brick fortification wall runs east-west to a total length of 1.9 mts., and upto a height of 1.10 mts., with 11 courses of bricks, laid in offset fashion. Below the bottom course inside, is ruble stone packing,to serve as foundation. Above the topmost course outside, on the south, was found laterite gravel packing, mixed with black silt. The bricks measure 60 X 30 X 8 cms. Here are found a hoard of 17 square copper coins belonging to Siri Satakarni, datable to 2nd - 1st c.B.C.

Further south below, at the foot of the mound, at a distance of 36 mts., was found brick basement wall with 21 courses and rising to a height of 1.20 mts. and a width of 1.80 mts. Below the lowest course is seen morum packing with rubble stones as on the top. A significant find at this level is the discovery of a few iron arrow heads.

Another important structural evidence pertaining to the defences is the evidence of Bastion excavated in the south-east corner, rectangular on plan, measuring 11.65 mts., long east-west on the south and 10.55 mts., wide on the east, towards south-north. The size of the bricks is 59 X 29 X 8 cms. This is unique as it provided the structural evidence of a Bastion in the forts of A.P for the first time.

Added to the above that the site also was an important port during Satavahana times is proved by the discovery of a wharf like brick platform found in the river bed in the outcrops.

Pedda Vegi :

Situated near Ellore in West Godavari district, it was the earliest capital of the Vēṅgi kingdom and the term *Vēṅgi* itself is derived from its capital. It was the capital of the Śālaṅkāyanas, who flourished in 4th c.A.D. Ptolemy, the Greek geographer refers to it as 'Benagouron' situated in the country of Salakanoi. Yuan-chawang calls it as Ping-ki-lo, the capital of Anto-Lo or Andhra. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Harisēna also mentions its Lord Hastivarma as Vaiṅgēyaka. From this, it becomes clear that Vēṅgī continued to enjoy a place of political importance in the history of Āndhra Dēśa. The fact that it still contains antiquarian remains of interest, points evidence for

its being a fortified city. According to Sir Walter Elliot, the evidences for extensive ancient remains here and many curious mounds, probably cover the remains of an old city. Recent excavations conducted by Sri. I.K.Sarma, at a place called Koṭadibbalu, revealed extensive ruins including a fortified township encompassing the nearby hamlets to an extent of approximately 6 sq. kms. They also revealed gravel fortifications encircling an area of one square km. Walls were levelled up, except at the west and southern extents. Identical images of Kāla Bhairava were found at the north-east and northern boundaries of the fortifications. These are valuable evidences revealing the cult during the early Chāḷukyan times. The images are nude, two handed with *khaḍga*, and *chūrika* in both hands and with *sarpālaṅkāras*. They served as the guardian deities of the city of Vēṅgipura. According to the excavator, trenches cut across the gravel fortifications cut out in the western part, brought to light a moat with silt and water. Brick alignments indicating postern gateways were traced on the surface of the northwest and southern sides of the fortifications. The brick size and ceramic ware clearly indicate that the fortifications were used during the Śālaṅkāyana period and continued to be in use, perhaps strengthened, during the subsequent phases.

From the foregoing study it is clear that the art of fortification continued since the pre-Sātavāhana times. Although direct references to forts or fortified cities are lacking in the literature and epigraphs of the period, the evidence of archaeological excavations proves the point. Further testimony is provided by the writings of foreign travellers like Megasthenes, Pliny and Ptolemy. However the meagre evidence that comeforth in the archaeological excavations, and the representation of an ancient Indian city in the sculptural carvings at Dharaṇikōṭa, do not give us a complete picture of the fort of its architectural adjuncts like bastions, towers, etc., as prescribed by Kauṭilya. Further we also do not have any idea about the plan or shape of the fort. But according to the account of Col. Mackenzie, "it was square in form".

This meagre defensive equipment of the fort, like bastions, towers, turrets, loopholes, etc., lead us to believe that siege warfare or direct attack against enemy forts was comparatively less prevalent, as against the prevailing phenomenon of land battles, on a chosen site or terrain. This again leads us to the surmise that, during this period the terms *fort* and *town* were one and the same, i.e., every town or city of importance was invariably fortified. The comparative absence of siege warfare reduced the incidence

of attack on forts considerably, and hence, the defensive equipment and machinery of these forts was less, when compared to the huge and magnificent fort complexes of the medieval period,. The absence or near absence of the *giri durgas* (hill forts) may also be attributed to the above reason, which, ofcourse is conditioned by a number of other factors like geography, geology and contemporary trends of warfare. The evidence of bastions appears during this period for the first time at Kotalingala.

As regards the building materials, mud or morum and brick appear to be the main materials of construction, as seen at Dharanikota, Kotalingala, Nagarjunakonda, Keesaragutta, and Pedda Vegi. Coming to the organisation and maintenance of forts, we suffer from paucity of material. Forts, during this period, appear to have occupied a place of lesser importance in the body politic, or in the four fold division of the army into infantry, cavalry, elephants, and chariots. The main reason for this appears to be that, forts during this period, were considered as centres of political authority, being the residences of imperial rulers or kings, and not the centres of military power, as warfare was not centered round towns or capital cities. Kauṭilya prescribes a series of rules governing the construction and maintenance of forts. He mentions, the office of "Antapāla"[27] to command a fort, and refers to a revenue from forts[28], and lists a series of toll duties, as coming under the head of forts. It is not known, to what extent, the above rules were followed by the Sātavāhanas or their successors. The Sātavāhanas divided their empire into several *āhāras* and *rāshṭras* or *raṭṭikas*, each of which was governed by an *amātya* or governor, besides several feudatories like *Mahārathis* and *Mahā Bhōjas*, who were perhaps holding the charge of forts also.

27. Kauṭilya's *Artha Śāstra* Bk. I. Ch. II
28. *Ibid*, Bk II, Ch. VI, p. 63.

AN EARLY SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION FROM SANNATI

- Dr. J.Varaprasada Rao

Consequent upon the discovery of the inscribed royal memorial stele of Gautmīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi at Sannati,[1] District Gulbarga, Karnataka, one more inscription in a single line datable to 2nd century A.D., in Sanskrit text (Pl. 1) was discovered by the author,[2] (on 12.7.1992) on a broken lime stone stele, found at lower levels, almost touching the bottom portion of the earlier stele, from the same find spot in a mound locally known as 'Khatal'. This mound is located behind and north-west of the PWD bungalow at Sannati. It is an extensive mound, littered with pottery, beads, lead and copper alloy coins, tiles, brick-bats etc., and situated on the left bank of river Bhima. The author collected a number of broken inscribed limestone memorial stones from this mound.

The inscription was engraved on the right margin of the stele. Though it is an incomplete inscription[3], its association with the above mentioned memorial stele incised with Prakrit inscription, gain significance. It depicts procession of elephants in a series of rows animated, one behind the other (Pl. 2). A chowri bearer and a horse (hind portion is preserved) are carved in front of the elephant rows. Perhaps, mahouts sat on the back of the elephants and held the ropes tied to the body of elephants. The trunk, fore-head and neck or mane of elephants were highly decorated with auspicious symbols like *triratna*, geometric and floral motifs (caparisoned elephants) displaying royalty. Thus the stele depicts a scene of royal procession, which signifies the final journeys of the dead. Usually all the memorial stones found at Sannati consisted of three tiered vertical panels where the bottom one depicts a journey scene, symbolically represented by either a simple horse, bullock cart, or cart, with unyoked bullocks etc. This stele was also found from the same find spot where the earlier memorial stele was found as mentioned above and forms part and parcel of the latter. Thus, it can be aptly identified with the journey scene of the same memorial stone. The third, obviously the upper panel is yet to be unearthed. All these slabs still lie buried in the mound and not completely

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1. Sarma, I.K., and Vara Prasada Rao, J., 1963, *Early Brāhmi Inscriptions from Sannati*, New Delhi, pp. 63-71.
2. The site was visited by Dr. K.V. Ramesh, the then Joint Director General, Dr. Madhav N. Katti, Director Epigraphy, Shri D.R. Gehlot, Superintending Archaeologist of Hyderabad Circle, Archaeological Survey of India.
3. Dr. Ramesh is of the opinion that this may be even the fore-runner of Sanskrit inscriptions of Kadambas and Ikshvākus.

exposed and retrieved. The royal memorial stone may be insitu from the same find spot, erected vertically. The height of the first panel is 0.83 mt., thereby the height of the three panels may be more or less 2.50 mts., having a width of 1.55 mts., thus, making a huge rectangular memorial stone, set up in honour of the dead king, for public view.

TEXT

YASSVATGA TASSĀMAVASṚJYA NARENDRA
LAKSHMIM PUTROTHAME

SUTA SAHASRA SAMĀNA SĀRE
RĀJĀ KUSALA KSHAYA KARAMKULA.

MEANING

Yaha	:	Who
Svargataḥ	:	(who had) gone to heaven
Narēṅdra Lakshmīṁ	:	the kingdom
Saṁavasṛijya	:	(who had) expanded
Putrōthame	:	Supreme or the most excellent among sons
Suta Sahasra Samāna Sārē	:	Whose strength is equal to thousand sons.
Rāja	:	Kings
Kuśala Kshaya	:	Welfare and destruction
Karaṁ	:	Done
Kula	:	Caste or Family

This above verse is composed in 'VASAṄTATILAKA' metre and the text is incomplete. The beginning of the line attests that it was a memorial inscription. It narrates the personal qualities of the dead king, who had gone to heaven (*Yaśvatgata*), who expanded his kingdom (*Samavasṛijya Narēṅdra Lakshmīṁ*), who is supreme among the sons (*Putrōthame*), whose strength is equal to thousand sons (*Suta Sahasra Samāna Sārē*), who is looking after or doing the welfare and the destruction of kings (*Rāja kuśala kshaya*), and who perhaps restored or uplifted the lost glory of their family (*Kula ....*). Here the words '*Kuśala-Kshaya*' were used as synonym and antonym.

The present Sanskrit inscription narrates the personal qualities of the dead king, whereas the Prakrit inscription on the main panel which was published, reveals the eulogies, military achievements, territories etc. Thus it is something special to find two

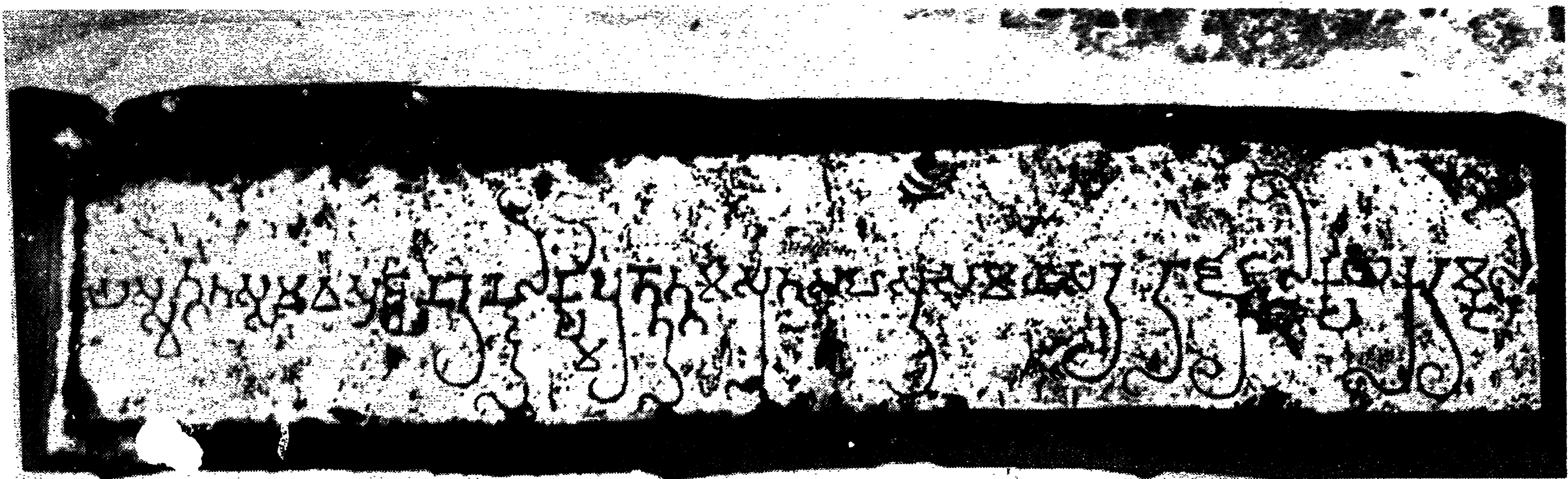
languages i.e. Prakrit on the central panel and the Sanskrit on the present panel; perhaps either to enumerate the greatness of the dead king, or his liking towards Sanskrit. Otherwise, in general, during 2nd century A.D. Prakrit was more in vogue and easily followed by the common people. The Sanskrit version of the present inscription must have had some purpose, perhaps meant for the learned and royal dignitaries.

It is necessary to mention in brief the meaning of the Prakrit inscription, found on the main panel of the memorial stones so as to understand the nature of it in detail.

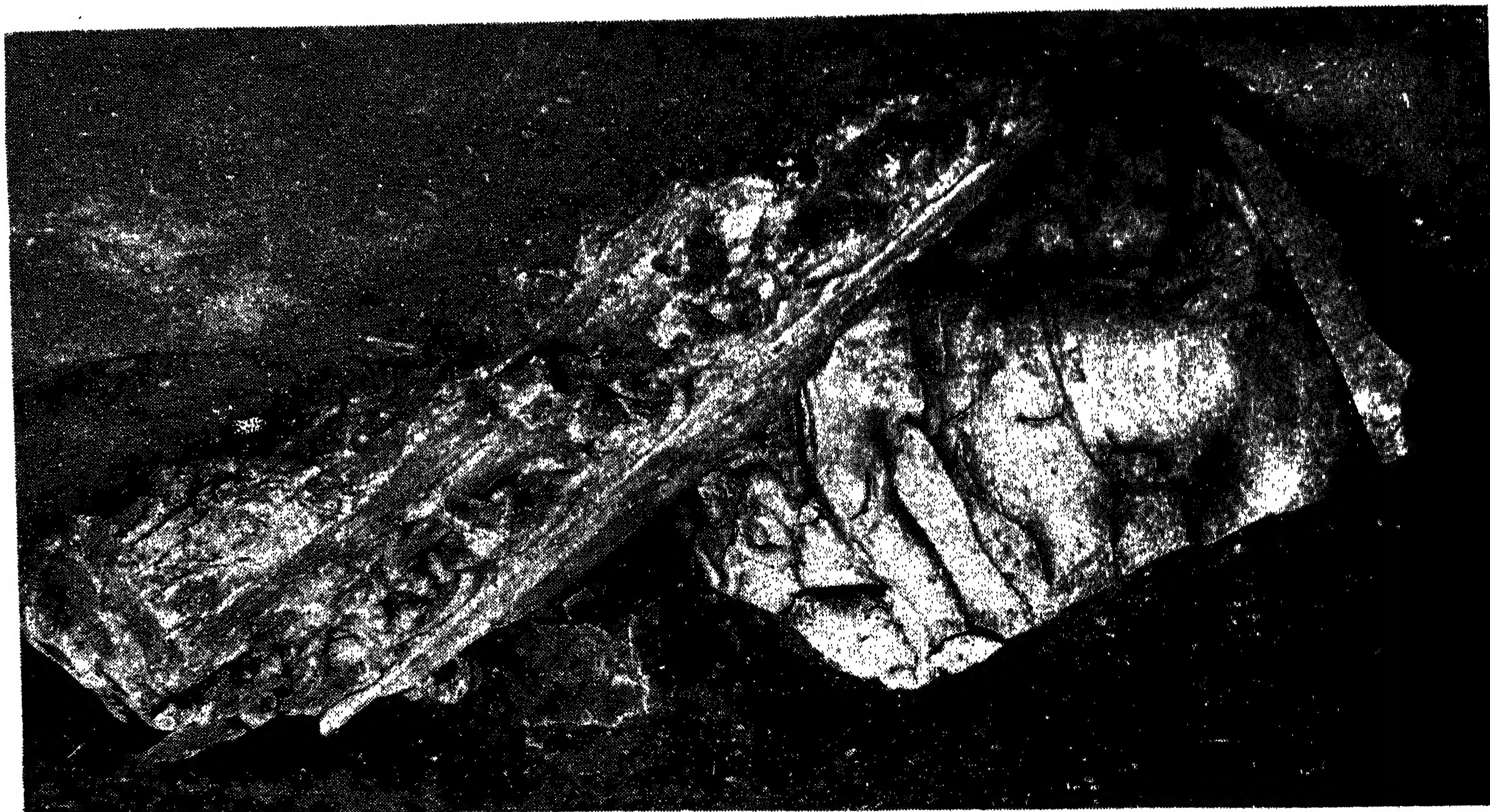
The king referred to herein is eulogised as Samudita Balavāhana, Abhagavāhana, Sātavāhana and Lord of Bemnakaṭa, Vidarbha, Uparigiri (a new place which was not mentioned in the Nasik inscription of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Puḷumāvi), Aparānta, Assaka, Muḷaka, Sajayati (identified with Vaijayanti i.e. Banavasi in Karnataka), Chakōra, Vala, Raṭṭa and Dakhiṇa, who had done the services to mother, (...Susakasa), who had restrained rivalry of his father's enemies (*Pitusatuvera Niyatakasa*), destroyer of Kshātrapa family (*Khakhārata Kula ghātakasa*), capturer of crowns of many kings (*Anēkarāja Mathaka Patigahōtasa), Ēkākuśasa, Ēkadhanadhārasa*.

This is an abridged version of the Nasik inscription, issued by Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. Though the metronymic of the king's name is broken and missing in the Prakrit inscription, basing on the above version may be identified with the king Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi. Such a great king of that time was none other than Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi. This memorial stone could have been raised in honour of the deceased king, by one of his successors, may be Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi. The latter two kings' inscriptions were reported from Sannati. The present Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions on the stele represent a memorial stone of Śrī Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, erected in Sannati, reveal the sway of Sātavāhanas in the northern part of Karnataka, even right from the times of the earliest king Śrī Sātavāhana, whose coins were reported from this site.[4] The extensive mounds, locally known as Ranamandal, *stūpa* mounds, fortification, a variety of antiquities, many inscribed memorial stones and inscriptions of Sātavāhana kings at this place seem to make Sannati an important provincial capital of the Imperial Sātavāhanas.

4. Vara Prasada Rao, J. : Inscribed Sātavāhana Coins from Sannati, *Sri Ramachandrika,* Vol. I, New Delhi, 1993, pp. 207-222.



Pl. 1 : Sanskrit inscription from Sannati (V), Gulbarga District, Karnataka.



Pl. 2. : Sculptured stele bearing inscription on its left margin. Sannati (V), Gulbarga District, Karnataka.